

Russo-Ukrainian War: Organized Crime?



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By William P. Litynski

From the Grassy Knoll in Kharkiv, Ukraine: **Lone Gunman or Patsy?**

The Attempted Assassination of Jewish billionaire
Gennadiy Adolfovich Kernes, the Mayor of Kharkiv, Ukraine
on Monday, April 28, 2014



Ukrainian politician and Jewish billionaire **Gennadiy Adolfovich Kernes**, the Mayor of Kharkiv, Ukraine in 2014, was a supporter of former President of Ukraine Victor Yanukovich before and during the Maidan Revolution. After Yanukovich fled to Russia, Kernes began professing loyalty to the provisional Ukrainian government, supported a united Ukraine, and opposed the Russian insurgency. Kernes is a member of the Party of Regions, a major political party in eastern Ukraine.



President of Russia Dmitry Medvedev (left) shakes hands with Lloyd Blankfein, the chairman of the board of Goldman Sachs bank in New York City, during a meeting in the Gorki residence outside Moscow, Russia on March 15, 2011. Lloyd Blankfein is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private organization in New York City. (AP Photo/RIA Novosti, Vladimir Rodionov, Presidential Press Service)

Vladimir Putin's Aggression over Ukraine: A Bilderberg-Kremlin Intrigue?



From Russia With Love?: Bilderberg Meetings participant Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands (left) shares a toast with President of Russia Vladimir Putin after they unveiled a plaque with hand imprint of Peter the Great during a tour of the Hermitage Museum in Amsterdam, Netherlands on April 8, 2013. **Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held in Hertfordshire, England near London from June 6-9, 2013.** Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands is a direct descendant of Catherine the Great and Peter the Great. (Photo: [AFP Photo](#))



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) met with Royal Dutch Shell CEO Ben van Beurden at the Novo-Ogaryovo state residence outside Moscow, Russia on Friday, April 18, 2014. Putin is pushing to add oil and natural gas routes for Russia to supply Asia. **Ben van Beurden attended the 2014 Bilderberg Meetings conference held in Copenhagen, Denmark from May 29, 2014 until June 1, 2014.** (Photo: Maxim Shipenkov, POOL)



Alexey Miller (left), Chairman of the Gazprom Management Committee, and **Bilderberg Group member Jorma Ollila (right), chairman of the board of Royal Dutch Shell**, sign an agreement in Amsterdam on April 8, 2013. President of Russia Vladimir Putin (2nd left) appears with Prime Minister of the Netherlands Mark Rutte. **Jorma Ollila and Mark Rutte attended the Bilderberg Meetings conference held in Hertfordshire, England (near London) from 6-9 June 2013.** (Photo: [Gazprom](#))



Robert Dudley (left), Chief Executive of BP, meets with Prime Minister of Russia Vladimir Putin in Moscow, Russia in 2011. **Robert Dudley attended the Bilderberg Meetings in 2012 and 2013.** (Photo: Alexey Druzhinin/Ria Novosti)



President of Russia Vladimir V. Putin meets with British Petroleum officials in Moscow, Russia on Tuesday, September 18, 2012. Clockwise from left, Vladimir V. Putin; Putin's interpreter; Carl-Henric Svanberg, chairman of the board of British Petroleum; Robert Dudley, chief executive officer of British Petroleum; and Igor Sechin, chief of Russian oil company Rosneft. **Carl-Henric Svanberg and Robert Dudley have attended the Bilderberg Meetings in the past.** (RIA Novosti/Reuters)



Russia's Prime Minister Vladimir Putin (R), Royal Dutch Shell Chief Executive Jeroen van der Veer (C) and Shell's incoming Chief Executive Peter Voser meet at the Novo-Ogaryovo residence outside Moscow June 27, 2009.

CREDIT: REUTERS/RIA NOVOSTI/POOL/ALEXEI NIKOLSKY

Vladimir Putin meets with Royal Dutch Shell CEO Jeroen van der Veer (center) and Peter Voser (left) near Moscow, Russia on June 27, 2009. Peter Voser attended the 2010 Bilderberg Meetings conference held in Sitges Spain; Jeroen van der Veer attended the 2009 Bilderberg Meetings conference held in Vouliagmeni, Greece from 14-17 May 2009. (Reuters)

BP's Chief and Putin Meet, a Sign of Movement in a Joint Venture's Dispute

By [ANDREW E. KRAMER](#)

The New York Times

September 19, 2012, 4:21 pm

MOSCOW — [BP](#) may finally be close to resolving a long-running business dispute over its joint venture in Russia.

Although the government provided few details of their discussion, the chief executive of BP, [Robert W. Dudley](#), met with President [Vladimir V. Putin](#) of Russia on Tuesday as BP continued trying to extricate itself from a nine-year-old partnership called [TNK-BP](#).

The joint venture is vital for the British oil company, providing about a quarter of its total global oil production — about the same as the share produced in the United States, where its business is overshadowed by lawsuits stemming from the 2010 oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico.

But BP and its partners in the business, three Russian billionaires, have been fighting for years. The billionaires are also suing BP for billions of dollars in damages for what they say is the oil company's violation of the shareholder agreement underlying TNK-BP.

Igor I. Sechin, the chief executive of [Rosneft](#), the state-owned Russian oil company, was also at the meeting, which was held at the presidential resort in Sochi. Rosneft reportedly has asked banks for \$10 billion to \$12 billion in financing for the purchase of BP's stake in TNK-BP.

“During the meeting, BP reiterated its long-term commitment to Russia and provided assurances that while the company is looking to exit its investment in TNK-BP, it is not exiting Russia,” BP said Wednesday.

In its own statement, the Kremlin said Mr. Putin discussed “the continuation and expansion” of BP's business in Russia.

Meetings between chief executives and Mr. Putin, who personally oversees major deals in the oil sector, often signal coming agreements. Mr. Dudley appeared in a photograph with Mr. Putin in 2010, a few months before BP and Rosneft announced a deal to explore for oil in the Russian sector of the Arctic Ocean. That agreement was scrapped when BP's partners in the Russian joint venture filed their lawsuit.

TNK-BP manages oil fields in Siberia that are aging but still profitable. If BP left the joint venture, it would be free to join the race to explore for oil in Russia's area of the Arctic Ocean, a venture that could eventually be much more lucrative.

[Exxon Mobil](#), the largest American oil company, Eni of Italy and [Statoil](#) of Norway already have agreements to explore for oil off the northern coast of Russia.

Any sale of BP's stake in the joint venture to a third party like Rosneft would have to wait at least until mid-October. That is when a three-month period expires during which BP is obliged to negotiate the sale of its stake in TNK-BP to its Russian partners. Rosneft and BP's partners in TNK-BP declined to comment.

Selling the stake would also help shore up BP's finances, which are being stretched by settlements of the lawsuits related to the Gulf of Mexico disaster. It would also fit the “shrink to grow” strategy BP has announced. This month, BP sold gulf oil fields to [Plains Exploration and Production](#) for \$5.5 billion. The British oil giant is also negotiating to sell a refinery in Texas City, Tex., to Marathon Petroleum, The Financial Times reported Wednesday.

But is it not certain that BP will sell its stake in TNK-BP. Even after the spill in the gulf, BP has negotiated both to buy out its billionaire partners and to sell its own interest to them.

Debtwire, a trade publication covering distressed debt and leveraged finance, reported that Rosneft had approached banks for loan offers to buy a stake in TNK-BP. Bloomberg reported it was for BP's share.

Stanley Reed contributed reporting from London.

Source: <http://dealbook.nytimes.com/2012/09/19/bps-chief-meets-with-russian-leaders-on-joint-venture/>



Vladimir Putin (center) meets with Russian billionaire Alisher Usmanov (right), Russia's richest man and a member of the board of directors of Gazprom, Russia's largest corporation and oil company. Alisher Usmanov's wife Irina Viner is a Russian Jew.



Russian oligarch (and oil-garch) Alisher Usmanov (left) appears with President of Russia Dmitry Medvedev at his Gorki residence in November 2011. Alisher Usmanov is a director of Gazprom. **Dmitry Medvedev served as the Chairman of the board of Gazprom from 2002 until his election as President of Russia in 2008.**



An attendant fills a customer's car with fuel at a Gazprom gas station in Moscow, Russia.

(Photographer: Andrey Rudakov/Bloomberg)

<http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-04-15/gazprom-neft-leads-slide-as-china-sinks-crude-russia-overnight>



President of Russia Dmitry Medvedev (left) and Gazprom CEO Alexei Miller examine a Gazprom exhibition stand in St. Petersburg, Russia in 2010. **Dmitry Medvedev served as the Chairman of the board of Gazprom from 2002 until his election as President of Russia in 2008.**

Russia begins to restrict natural gas supplies to Belarus

By the CNN Wire Staff

June 21, 2010 3:41 a.m. EDT

(CNN) -- Russia began to cut off natural gas supplies to Belarus on Monday as talks over unpaid debts continued, Russian state media reported.

President Dmitry Medvedev gave the order for Russian energy giant Gazprom to start restricting gas supplies, company CEO Alexei Miller said, according to official Russian news agency RIA-Novosti.

Miller said the cut, which began Monday, will be “gradual, daily and proportional to the volume of debt.”

Belarus has refused to pay Russian gas rates of \$169 per 1,000 cubic meters for the first quarter of the year and \$185 for the second quarter, RIA-Novosti reported. The former Soviet republic has instead been paying \$150 since Jan. 1, ringing up a large debt in the process.

Russia’s action could hurt customers farther down the pipeline.

Belarus has said it will be technologically unable to ensure complete natural gas transit to Europe, if Russia cuts gas supplies to Belarus by 85 percent, state media reported.

In the past, other countries including Austria, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Romania, Greece and Turkey have complained that their gas supplies have been affected as Russia trimmed output to upstream customers like Belarus and Ukraine.

Gazprom is the world’s biggest producer and exporter of natural gas -- and Russia’s most powerful company.

It controls 20 percent of the world's natural gas reserves and operates the world’s largest gas distribution network covering an area from Europe to the Far East, according to its website.

Gazprom exports energy to 32 countries and provides around 25 percent of the European Union’s gas supplies.

Formed in 1989 to replace the Soviet Ministry of the Gas Industry, Gazprom is closely tied to the Russian government, which owns a controlling 50 percent stake in the company. Medvedev is a former Gazprom chairman.

In recent years, an increasingly confident Moscow has used Gazprom to assert its authority over Russia's former sphere of influence by offering heavily subsidized gas to ex-Soviet countries.

But that policy has led to disputes as Gazprom has then sought to raise prices.

Gazprom has switched off gas supplies to another former republic -- Ukraine -- several times in recent years in a row over payments and Kiev's rejection of proposals to hike rates. Those disputes ended earlier this year when Russia agreed to a 30 percent drop in the price of natural gas sold to Ukraine, in exchange for permission to extend Russia's lease of a major naval base in the Black Sea port of Sevastopol, Ukraine, for 25 years.

Source: <http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/europe/06/21/russia.belarus.gas/>



Soviet Commissars and Politburo members meet at the Kremlin in Moscow.



Vladimir Putin as a KGB agent

“Autocracy was Russia’s peculiar institution. It was far older than Peter the Great. He had made it work more efficiently; Stalin made it work better than the Romanovs. During the nineteenth century many of the most intelligent subjects of the Tsar criticised the principles of autocracy, but for most Russians it was an acceptable form of government. The reasons for this go deep into the Russian past. The absence of clearly marked geographical frontiers tended to encourage dispersion; autocracy countered this tendency. Autocracy expressed the religious and cultural unity of a people who continued to believe that the Orthodox form of Christianity was closer to the spirit of Jesus Christ than any other. Moscow became the heir of the authoritarianism of Byzantium. Russia had neither a reformation, nor a religious war, nor a capitalist class.

Consequently her history lacked the shape of English development – a shape which England transmitted to the United States. **English history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is in essence the record of how cohesive social classes eroded. the power of the monarchy. As each class won freedom for itself it gave an example to another class. This struggle was fought within the framework of a sovereign legal system. The idea of Law was more important than the idea of the State. The laws were the rules by which the political game was played. In the end, English development tended to reduce the State to little more than a referee. Society was everything and government was nothing: liberty was widespread but so was inequality. The English development was hateful to most Russians in the nineteenth century. They saw it as nothing but an excuse for the application of jungle law, and thought little of the boasted English freedom. They thought that it was merely a freedom for the strong to oppress the weak. They thought that freedom was dangerous because it gave free rein to the worst instincts of the worst men. They thought that the English system was both naive and irreligious: it failed to take into account the great fact of original sin.** Enlightened Russians realised that their country needed change. In particular, they understood the need to adapt it to the Industrial Revolution, but they wanted to do this without adopting an English type of parliamentary democracy. They thought that change should be initiated and pushed through by an enlightened autocrat. Peter the Great had modernised Russia: there seemed to be no reason why one of his nineteenth-century successors should not imitate his achievement. Russian political thought was always more attracted by the idea of equality than by that of liberty. Autocracy was alleged to create equality. All were equally the subjects of the most high Tsar. His unfettered will was more humane than any impersonal legal system. The belief in autocracy has been one of the constant features of Russian history.”

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 16-17

“The foreign policy of Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century was characterized by a not unnatural ambivalence. Unresolved problems of national interest, arising from earlier territorial gains, necessarily continued to drive her to further expansion. Nowhere is the truth of the saying, “The appetite grows with eating,” more clearly exemplified than in Russia’s relations with Turkey. Originally purely defensive, directed at checking the destructive raids of the Crimean Tatars, Russian policy and Russian arms had under Catherine given her a wholly defensible frontier, the northern shore line of the Black Sea. The natural sequel had been her “Greek project,” designed to seat her grandson on the throne of a re-created Christian empire at Constantinople. Such futile dreams apart, the consolidation of Russian power over Little Russia and the acquisition of New Russia had laid the basis for a new national Russian interest. **The possibility of growing wheat, and the mounting demand for wheat in the West, made control of the Straits, the narrow outlet from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, of paramount importance to Russia. It was not sufficient to secure guarantees for peaceful commerce; in an uncertain world, in which “international law” remains a fiction, only military control of the essential passage could really satisfy Russian national interests. Yet this Russian craving, natural though it might be, seemed to threaten to disturb the balance of the world. It was naturally regarded by the mistress of the seas as a special menace to her predominance. If Russia was determined to secure control of the Straits – the Bosphorus and Dardanelles – Great Britain was no less determined to prevent it. Thus was brought into focus the dominant theme of nineteenth-century diplomacy, the “cold war” waged between Britain and Russia, in which Britain persistently pursued a policy of “containment” of any Russian expansion in any quarter which England could effectively reach.** The quarrel had, of course, still wider implications. Britain had played the lion’s role in destroying the power of France and in tumbling the European dictatorship of Napoleon, but this tremendous victory had not been attained single-handed. Much as Russia had owed to British subsidies, the fact remained that without the massed military might of Russia the Battle of Leipzig and the campaign around Paris in 1814 would have been impossible. There was no question that, next to Great Britain, Russia was the leading world power. It was inevitable, then, that in the very moment of triumph there should develop a strong polarity between Great Britain and Russia. Inevitable is a word at which every historian shies, but it is the inevitability of specific events, not of general trends, that chiefly gives him pause. There was no reason to be surprised that, less than six months after the abdication of Napoleon, the victorious allies, led on opposite sides by Great Britain and by Russia, should be threatening each other with war over the Polish question. Temporary community of larger interests momentarily prevented open conflict. Though Alexander’s mystically conceived “Holy Alliance” was sidetracked, the Concert of Europe found expression in the Quadruple (later Quintuple) Alliance. Stronger than Russia’s native expansionist tendencies was Russia’s desire to preserve the status quo arrived at by the Treaty of Paris (1814) and by the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna (1815). Determined to preserve intact the existing regime in Russia itself, it had been only natural for Alexander I and, in large measure, for his brother Nicholas I, to wish to preserve also the existing international regime. **This was the basis for Russia’s role as “the gendarme of Europe,” ready to stamp out anywhere any movement threatening the established order.**” – *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 284-285

"In this irregular fashion the Soviet Union pushed her power further west and south in Europe than the Russian Empire had ever reached. The territorial gains of the Soviet Union itself were relatively modest. In addition to the territorial acquisitions she had made while still "neutral" in 1939-40 at the expense of Poland, Rumania, Finland, and the Baltic states, the U.S.S.R. acquired the Carpatho-Ukraine, which had formerly been part of Czechoslovakia, part of East Prussia, and additional territory from Finland, the most significant part of which, the Petsamo nickel-mining area, made the Soviet boundary coincide with that of Norway. In addition she had acquired a fifty-year lease on the Porkkala peninsula, ideally situated for a naval base in the Gulf of Finland. In the Far East, besides a lease on Port Arthur, in the Yellow Sea, she had recovered southern Sakhalin and acquired the Kurile Islands. Her greatest territorial gains, however, were beyond her technical borders. Apart from her occupation zones in Germany and Austria, her troops held and her puppets ruled a Poland with its center of gravity shifted westward, as well as Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. Yugoslavia, though Soviet troops had been withdrawn, seemed secure on the basis of close relations with Tito; a similar situation existed in Albania. Soviet troops received the Japanese surrender in Manchuria; they soon withdrew, but in such fashion as to allow that territory to be taken over by the Chinese Communists rather than by the Nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek; nor did the Soviet government neglect, during its brief occupation of Manchuria, to remove to Russia as much as possible of the physical equipment of Japanese-owned plants in that area, as well as to send the Japanese soldiers into Soviet labor camps. In North Korea, occupied by Soviet forces pending establishment of a provisional government for the whole of Korea, a puppet Communist government was promptly set up. Soviet troops remained also in the northwestern corner of Iran, where they had been guarding the American supply line. In addition, the Communists supported strong "underground" movements, sometimes in control of extensive territory, in areas where Stalin had conceded to Churchill a preponderant influence for Britain. Outstanding was the case of Greece, where the "EAM" and its fighting organization, "ELAS," offered strong resistance to British postwar occupation and provoked a civil war. Even in France and Italy, numerically strong Communist parties seemed a threat to the stability of these "liberated" countries. The Communists made no attempt to incorporate the huge area of Eastern Europe into the Soviet Union or even immediately to introduce the characteristic features of Soviet economy. Even today, what are commonly called the "satellite states" are not rated as "socialist republics" but only as "people's democracies."

This was not at all the result of promises made, either at Yalta or elsewhere, nor was it an indication that the Communists had abandoned their dream of world revolution. Rather, it was one more proof of what was already patent enough, namely, that they were principally guided by concern for the interests of the state they ruled as the heirs of the Russian Emperors. Politically they exercised complete control through the handful of adherents (on the style of Germany's Quislings) they attracted in each of the new subject nationalities, backed by their own tested machinery of secret police and arbitrary punishments. In each case they worked through a "front," in which the Communists took key positions in control of the police and the army. With whatever misgivings, leaders of the several national movements agreed to cooperate with their Communist ministerial colleagues; themselves generally believers in genuine democracy, they could not fairly be expected to be more omniscient than the chairman and chief spokesman of the "Big Three" had been. **The populations of the several countries, exhausted by their horrifying experiences under Nazi rule and with no possibility of finding aid from the democratic West, had no choice but to submit to the new form of oppression; hating the Russians, but hating also the Germans, and with no love for the other neighbor nations in the same position as themselves, they could only bide their time and hope for a change in the international situation.** There was no possibility that such sullenly hostile peoples could be taken into the structure of the Soviet Union itself. **The people whose independent spirit seemed most to be feared were the Poles; but a Poland almost half of whose territories had been forcibly taken from Germany had to depend on Russian support to maintain her national existence, such as it was. The "satellite states," however, served purposes useful to the Soviet Union. For one thing, they constituted a broad belt-a new form of *cordon sanitaire* which helped to isolate Russia from the "capitalist" West; so long as they could be prevented from establishing independent relations with the West, they constituted a valuable glacis protecting the Russian "socialist" fortress.** Economically, too, they were a great advantage to the Soviet Union. The very fact that no attempt was currently being made to extend to them the anticipated blessings of the communism toward which the Soviet Union was striving made it quite unnecessary to promote their rapid economic development. Instead, they could be and were initially used as a sort of colonial empire, the resources of which, in mercantilist spirit, were at the free disposal of their "protector," to aid in the restoration of its own devastated economy."

— *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 681-683



Bilderberg Meetings participant Anders Fogh Rasmussen (left), Secretary General of NATO, greets Prime Minister of Russia Vladimir Putin in Moscow, Russia on December 16, 2009. (Photo: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/photos_60179.htm)



Foreign Minister of Turkey Ali Babacan (left) shakes hands with Foreign Minister of Russia Sergey Lavrov in Istanbul, Turkey on September 2, 2008. **Ali Babacan attended the 2008 Bilderberg Meetings held in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. near Washington, D.C. from 5-8 June 2008.** The Russo-Georgian War was fought from 7-16 August 2008; Russia continues to occupy the Georgian provinces of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-1986-0416-418
Foto: Reiche, Hartmut | 16. April 1986

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev stands in front of the Brandenburg Gate in East Berlin on April 16, 1986.
(Photo: German Federal Archives)

“Further global progress is now possible only through a quest for universal consensus in the movement towards a **new world order**.”

– Mikhail Gorbachev, in a speech delivered at the United Nations in December 1988

Vladimir Putin's Aggression over Ukraine: A "New World Order" or Jewish Intrigue?



President of Russia Vladimir Putin meets with Chief Rabbi of Russia Berl Lazar (left) and President of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Russia Alexander Boroda (right) at the President's office near Moscow, Russia on November 7, 2012, the 95th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. (Photo: the Presidential Press and Information Office/[Kremlin](http://www.kremlin.ru))



Vladimir Putin shares a toast with the Chief Rabbi of Russia Berl Lazar.



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (right), Chief Rabbi of Russia Berel Lazar (left) and Russia's Jewish Communities Federation President Alexander Boroda (center) attend a ceremony marking moving the Schneerson library at the Jewish Museum and Tolerance Centre in Moscow, Russia on June 13, 2013. (EPA)



Vladimir Putin (left) greets the Chief Rabbi of Russia Berl Lazar.



German-born American Jewish powerbroker Henry Kissinger (left) meets with President of Russia Vladimir Putin in St. Petersburg, Russia on June 21, 2012. **Henry Kissinger is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City and a member of the Bilderberg Group.** (Photo: Presidential Press and Information Office/[Kremlin](http://kremlin.ru))



Hungarian-born American Jewish financier George Soros meets with Ukrainian politician Arseniy Yatsenyuk (left) in 2009. **George Soros is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City and a member of the Bilderberg Group, a private European organization.** (Photo: <http://old.pinchukfund.org/en/media/photo-gallery/2009/987.html>)

“In the nineteenth century most historians regarded Russia as part of Europe but it is now becoming increasingly clear that Russia is another civilization quite separate from Western Civilization. Both of these civilizations are descended from Classical Civilization, but the connection with this predecessor was made so differently that two quite different traditions came into existence. Russian traditions were derived from Byzantium directly; Western traditions were derived from the more moderate Classical Civilization indirectly, having passed through the Dark Ages when there was no state or government in the West. Russian civilization was created from three sources originally: (1) the Slav people, (2) Viking invaders from the north, and (3) the Byzantine tradition from the south. These three were fused together as the result of a common experience arising from Russia’s exposed geographical position on the western edge of a great flat-land stretching for thousands of miles to the east. This flat-land is divided horizontally into three zones of which the most southern is open plain, while the most northern is open bush and tundra. The middle zone is forest. The southern zone (or steppes) consists of two parts: the southern is a salty plain which is practically useless, while the northern part, next to the forest, is the famous black-earth region of rich agricultural soil. Unfortunately the eastern portion of this great Eurasian plain has been getting steadily drier for thousands of years, with the consequence that the Ural-Altaic-speaking peoples of central and east-central Asia, peoples like the Huns, Bulgars, Magyars, Mongols, and Turks, have pushed westward repeatedly along the steppe corridor between the Urals and the Caspian Sea, making the black-earth steppes dangerous for sedentary agricultural peoples. The Slavs first appeared more than two thousand years ago as a peaceful, evasive people, with an economy based on hunting and rudimentary agriculture, in the forests of eastern Poland. These people slowly increased in numbers, moving northeastward through the forests, mixing with the scattered Finnish hunting people who were there already. About A.D. 700 or so, the Northmen, whom we know as Vikings, came down from the Baltic Sea, by way of the rivers of eastern Europe, and eventually reached the Black Sea and attacked Constantinople. These Northmen were trying to make a way of life out of militarism, seizing booty and slaves, imposing tribute on conquered peoples, collecting furs, honey, and wax from the timid Slavs lurking in their forests, and exchanging these for the colorful products of the Byzantine south. In time the Northmen set up fortified trading posts along their river highways, notably at Novgorod in the north, at Smolensk in the center, and at Kiev in the south. They married Slav women and imposed on the rudimentary agricultural-hunting economy of the Slavs a superstructure of a tribute-collecting state with an exploitative, militaristic, commercial economy. **This created the pattern of a two-class Russian society which has continued ever since, much intensified by subsequent historical events. In time the ruling class of Russia became acquainted with Byzantine culture. They were dazzled by it, and sought to import it into their wilderness domains in the north. In this way they imposed on the Slav peoples many of the accessories of the Byzantine Empire, such as Orthodox Christianity, the Byzantine alphabet, the Byzantine calendar, the use of domed ecclesiastical architecture, the name Czar (Caesar) for their ruler, and innumerable other traits. Most important of all, they imported the Byzantine totalitarian autocracy, under which all aspects of life, including political, economic, intellectual, and religious, were regarded as departments of government, under the control of an autocratic ruler. These beliefs were part of the Greek tradition, and were based ultimately on Greek inability to distinguish between state and society. Since society includes all human activities, the Greeks had assumed that the state must include all human activities. In the days of Classical Greece this all-inclusive entity was called the *polis*, a term which meant both society and state; in the later Roman period this all-inclusive entity was called the imperium. The only difference was that the polis was sometimes (as in Pericles’s Athens about 450 B.C.) democratic, while the imperium was always a military autocracy. Both were totalitarian, so that religion and economic life were regarded as spheres of governmental activity. This totalitarian autocratic tradition was carried on to the Byzantine Empire and passed from it to the Russian state in the north and to the later Ottoman Empire in the south. In the north this Byzantine tradition combined with the experience of the Northmen to intensify the two-class structure of Slav society. In the new Slav (or Orthodox) Civilization this fusion, fitting together the Byzantine tradition and the Viking tradition, created Russia. From Byzantium came autocracy and the idea of the state as an absolute power and as a totalitarian power, as well as such important applications of these principles as the idea that the state should control thought and religion, that the Church should be a branch of the government, that law is an enactment of the state, and that the ruler is semi-divine. From the Vikings came the idea that the state is a foreign importation, based on militarism and supported by booty and tribute, that economic innovations are the function of the government, that power rather than law is the basis of social life, and that society, with its people and its property, is the private property of a foreign ruler. These concepts of the Russian system must be emphasized because they are so foreign to our own traditions. In the West, the Roman Empire (which continued in the East as the Byzantine Empire) disappeared in 476 and, although many efforts were made to revive it, there was clearly a period, about 900, when there was no empire, no state, and no public authority in the West. The state disappeared, yet society continued. So also, religious and economic life continued. This clearly showed that the state and society were not the same thing, that society was the basic entity, and that the state was a crowning, but not essential, cap to the social structure. This experience had revolutionary effects. It was discovered that man can live without a state; this became the basis of Western liberalism. It was discovered that the state, if it exists, must serve men and that it is incorrect to believe that the purpose of men is to serve the state. It was discovered that economic life, religious life, law, and private property can all exist and function effectively without a state. From this emerged *laissez-faire*, separation of Church and State, rule of law, and the sanctity of private property. In Rome, in Byzantium, and in Russia, law was regarded as an enactment of a supreme power. In the West, when no supreme power existed, it was discovered that law still existed as the body of rules which govern social life. Thus law was found by observation in the West, not enacted by autocracy as in**

the East. This meant that authority was established by law and under the law in the West, while authority was established by power and above the law in the East. The West felt that the rules of economic life were found and not enacted; that individuals had rights independent of, and even opposed to, public authority; that groups could exist, as the Church existed, by right and not by privilege, and without the need to have any charter of incorporation entitling them to exist as a group or act as a group; that groups or individuals could own property as a right and not as a privilege and that such property could not be taken by force but must be taken by established process of law. It was emphasized in the West that the way a thing was done was more important than what was done, while in the East what was done was far more significant than the way in which it was done. **There was also another basic distinction between Western Civilization and Russian Civilization. This was derived from the history of Christianity.** This new faith came into Classical Civilization from Semitic society.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Chapter 7 (Creation of the Russian Civilization), p. 81-83

“The Slavs were subjected at first to the Viking exploitative system. These Vikings copied Byzantine culture, and did it very consciously, in their religion, in their writing, in their state, in their laws, in art, architecture, philosophy, and literature. These rulers were outsiders who innovated all the political, religious, economic, and intellectual life of the new civilization. There was no state: foreigners brought one in. There was no organized religion: one was imported from Byzantium and imposed on the Slavs. The Slav economic life was on a low level, a forest subsistence economy with hunting and rudimentary agriculture: on this the Vikings imposed an international trading system. There was no religious-philosophic outlook: the new State-Church superstructure imposed on the Slavs an outlook derived from Greek dualistic idealism. And, finally, the East never experienced a Dark Ages to show it that society is distinct from the state and more fundamental than the state. This summary brings Russian society down to about 1200. In the next six hundred years new experiences merely intensified the Russian development. These experiences arose from the fact that the new Russian society found itself caught between the population pressures of the raiders from the steppes to the east and the pressure of the advancing technology of Western Civilization. The pressure of the Ural-Altaic speakers from the eastern steppes culminated in the Mongol (Tarter) invasions after 1200. The Mongols conquered Russia and established a tribute-gathering system which continued for generations. Thus there continued to be a foreign exploiting system imposed over the Slav people. In time the Mongols made the princes of Moscow their chief tribute collectors for most of Russia. A little later the Mongols made a court of highest appeal in Moscow, so that both money and judicial cases flowed to Moscow. These continued to flow even after the princes of Moscow (1380) led the successful revolt which ejected the Mongols. As the population pressure from the East decreased, the technological pressure from the West increased (after 1500). By Western technology we mean such things as gunpowder and firearms, better agriculture, counting and public finance, sanitation, printing, and the spread of education. Russia did not get the full impact of these pressures until late, and then from secondary sources, such as Sweden and Poland, rather than from England or France. However, Russia was hammered out between the pressures from the East and those from the West. The result of this hammering was the Russian autocracy, a military, tribute-gathering machine superimposed on the Slav population. The poverty of this population made it impossible for them to get firearms or any other advantages of Western technology. Only the state had these things, but the state could afford them only by draining wealth from the people. This draining of wealth from below upward provided arms and Western technology for the rulers but kept the ruled too poor to obtain these things, so that all power was concentrated at the top. The continued pressure from the West made it impossible for the rulers to use the wealth that accumulated in their hands to finance economic improvements which might have raised the standards of living of the ruled, since this accumulation had to be used to increase Russian power rather than Russian wealth. As a consequence, pressure downward increased and the autocracy became more autocratic. In order to get a bureaucracy for the army and for government service, the landlords were given personal powers over the peasants, creating a system of serfdom in the East just at the time that medieval serfdom was disappearing in the West. Private property, personal freedom, and direct contact with the state (for taxation or for justice) were lost to the Russian serfs. The landlords were given these powers so that the landlords would be free to fight and willing to fight for Moscow or to serve in Moscow’s autocracy. By 1730 the direct pressure of the West upon Russia began to weaken somewhat because of the decline of Sweden, of Poland, and of Turkey, while Prussia was too occupied with Austria and with France to press very forcibly on Russia. Thus, the Slavs, using an adopted Western technology of a rudimentary character, were able to impose their supremacy on the peoples to the East. The peasants of Russia, seeking to escape from the pressures of serfdom in the area west of the Urals, began to flee eastward, and eventually reached the Pacific. The Russian state made every effort to stop this movement because it felt that the peasants must remain to work the land and pay taxes if the landlords were to be able to maintain the military autocracy which was considered necessary. Eventually the autocracy followed the peasants eastward, and Russian society came to occupy the whole of northern Asia. As the pressure from the East and the pressure from the West declined, the autocracy, inspired perhaps by powerful religious feelings, began to have a bad conscience toward its own people. At the same time it still sought to westernize itself. It became increasingly clear that this process of westernization could not be restricted to the autocracy itself, but must be extended downward to include the Russian people. The autocracy found, in 1812, that it could not defeat Napoleon’s army without calling on the Russian people. Its inability to defeat the Western allies in the Crimean War of 1854-1856, and the growing threat of the Central Powers after the Austro-German alliance of 1879, made it clear that Russia must be westernized, in technology if not in ideology, throughout all classes of the society, in order to survive. This meant, very specifically, that Russia had to obtain the Agricultural Revolution and industrialism; but these in turn required that ability to read and write be extended to the peasants and that the rural population be reduced and the urban population be increased. These needs, again, meant that serfdom had to be abolished and that modern sanitation had to be introduced. Thus one need led to another, so that the whole society had to be reformed. In typically Russian fashion all these things were undertaken by government action, but as one reform led to another it became a question whether the autocracy and the landed upper classes would be willing to allow the reform movement to go so far as

to jeopardize their power and privileges. For example, the abolition of serfdom made it necessary for the landed nobility to cease to regard the peasants as private property whose only contact with the state was through themselves. Similarly, industrialism and urbanism would create new social classes of bourgeoisie and workers. These new classes inevitably would make political and social demands very distasteful to the autocracy and the landed nobility. If the reforms led to demands for nationalism, how could a dynastic monarchy such as the Romanov autocracy yield to such demands without risking the loss of Finland, Poland, the Ukraine, or Armenia? As long as the desire to westernize and the bad conscience of the upper classes worked together, reform advanced. But as soon as the lower classes began to make demands, reaction appeared. On this basis the history of Russia was an alternation of reform and reaction from the eighteenth century to the Revolution of 1917. Peter the Great (1689-1725) and Catherine the Great (1762-1796) were supporters of westernization and reform. Paul I (1796-1801) was a reactionary. Alexander I (1801-1825) and Alexander II (1855-1881) were reformers, while Nicholas I (1825-1855) and Alexander III (1881-1894) were reactionaries. As a consequence of these various activities, by 1864 serfdom had been abolished, and a fairly modern system of law, of justice, and of education had been established; local government had been somewhat modernized; a fairly good financial and fiscal system had been established; and an army based on universal military service (but lacking in equipment) had been created. On the other hand, the autocracy continued, with full power in the hands of weak men, subject to all kinds of personal intrigues of the basest kind; the freed serfs had no adequate lands; the newly literate were subject to a ruthless censorship which tried to control their reading, writing, and thinking; the newly freed and newly urbanized were subject to constant police supervision; the non-Russian peoples of the empire were subjected to waves of Russification and Pan-Slavism; the judicial system and the fiscal system were administered with an arbitrary disregard of all personal rights or equity; and, in general, the autocracy was both tyrannical and weak. The first period of reform in the nineteenth century, that under Alexander I, resulted from a fusion of two factors: the "conscience-stricken gentry" and the westernizing autocracy. Alexander himself represented both factors. As a result of his reforms and those of his grandmother, Catherine the Great, even earlier, there appeared in Russia, for the first time, a new educated class which was wider than the gentry, being recruited from sons of Orthodox priests or of state officials (including army officers) and, in general, from the fringes of the autocracy and the gentry. When the autocracy became reactionary under Nicholas I, this newly educated group, with some support from the conscience-stricken gentry, formed a revolutionary group generally called the "Intelligentsia." At first this new group was pro-Western, but later it became increasingly anti-Western and "Slavophile" because of its disillusionment with the West. In general, the Westernizers argued that Russia was merely a backward and barbaric fringe of Western Civilization, that it had made no cultural contribution of its own in its past, and that it must pass through the same economic, political, and social developments as the West. The Westernizers wished to speed up these developments. The Slavophiles insisted that Russia was an entirely different civilization from Western Civilization and was much superior because it had a profound spirituality (as contrasted with Western materialism), it had a deep irrationality in intimate touch with vital forces and simple living virtues (in contrast to Western rationality, artificiality, and hypocrisy), it had its own native form of social organization, the peasant village (commune) providing a fully satisfying social and emotional life (in contrast to Western frustration of atomistic individualism in sordid cities); and that a Socialist society could be built in Russia out of the simple self-governing, cooperative peasant commune without any need to pass along the Western route marked by industrialism, bourgeoisie supremacy, or parliamentary democracy. As industrialism grew in the West, in the period 1830-1850, the Russian Westernizers like P. Y. Chaadayev (1793-1856) and Alexander Herzen (1812-1870) became increasingly disillusioned with the West, especially with its urban slums, factory system, social disorganization, middle-class money-grubbing and pettiness, its absolutist state, and its advanced weapons. Originally the Westernizers in Russia had been inspired by French thinkers, while the Slavophiles had been inspired by German thinkers like Schelling and Hegel, so that the shift from Westernizers to Slavophiles marked a shift from French to Germanic teachers. The Slavophiles supported orthodoxy and monarchy, although they were very critical of the existing Orthodox Church and of the existing autocracy. They claimed that the latter was a Germanic importation, and that the former, instead of remaining a native organic growth of Slavic spirituality, had become little more than a tool of autocracy. Instead of supporting these institutions, many Slavophiles went out into the villages to get in touch with pure Slavic spirituality and virtue in the shape of the untutored peasant. These missionaries, called "narodniki," were greeted with unconcealed suspicion and distaste by the peasants, because they were city-bred strangers, were educated, and expressed anti-Church and anti-governmental ideas. Already disillusioned with the West, the Church, and the government, and now rejected by the peasants, the Intelligentsia could find no social group on which to base a reform program. The result was the growth of nihilism and of anarchism. Nihilism was a rejection of all conventions in the name of individualism, both of these concepts understood in a Russian sense. Since man is a man and not an animal because of his individual development and growth in a society made up of conventions, the nihilist rejection of conventions served to destroy man rather than to liberate him as they expected. The destruction of conventions would not raise man to be an angel, but would lower him to be an animal. Moreover, the individual that the nihilists sought to liberate by this destruction of conventions was not what Western culture understands by the word "individual." Rather it was "humanity." The nihilists had no respect whatever for the concrete individual or for individual personality. Rather, by destroying all conventions and stripping all persons naked of all conventional distinctions, they hoped to sink everyone, and especially themselves, into the amorphous, indistinguishable mass of humanity. The nihilists were completely atheist materialist, irrational, doctrinaire, despotic, and violent. They rejected all thought of self so long as humanity suffered; they "became atheists because they could not accept a Creator Who made an evil, incomplete world full of suffering"; they rejected all thought, all art, all idealism, all conventions, because these were superficial, unnecessary luxuries and therefore evil; they rejected marriage, because it was conventional bondage on the freedom of love; they rejected private property, because it was a tool of individual oppression; some even rejected clothing as a corruption of natural innocence; they rejected vice and licentiousness as unnecessary upper-class luxuries; as Nikolai Berdyaev put it: "It is Orthodox asceticism turned inside out, and asceticism without Grace. At the base of Russian nihilism, when grasped in its purity and depth, lies the Orthodox rejection of the world . . . , the acknowledgment of the sinfulness of all riches and luxury, of all creative profusion in art and in thought.... Nihilism considers as sinful

luxury not only art, metaphysics, and spiritual values, but religion also.... Nihilism is a demand for nakedness, for the stripping of oneself of all the trappings of culture, for the annihilation of all historical traditions, for the setting free of the natural man.... The intellectual asceticism of nihilism found expression in materialism; any more subtle philosophy was proclaimed a sin.... Not to be a materialist was to be taken as a moral suspect. If you were not a materialist, then you were in favour of the enslavement of man both intellectually and politically." (N. Berdyaev, *Origin of Russian Communism* (London, Geoffrey Bles, 1948), p. 45.) This fantastic philosophy is of great significance because it prepared the ground for Bolshevism. Out of the same spiritual sickness which produced nihilism emerged anarchism. To the anarchist, as revealed by the founder of the movement, Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876), the chief of all enslaving and needless conventionalities was the state. The discovery that the state was not identical with society, a discovery which the West had made a thousand years earlier than Russia, could have been a liberating discovery to Russia if, like the West, the Russians had been willing to accept both state and society, each in its proper place. But this was quite impossible in the Russian tradition of fanatical totalitarianism. To this tradition the totalitarian state had been found evil and must, accordingly, be completely destroyed, and replaced by the totalitarian society in which the individual could be absorbed. Anarchism was the next step after the disillusionment of the narodniki and the agitations of the nihilists. The revolutionary Intelligentsia, unable to find any social group on which to base a reform program, and convinced of the evil of all conventional establishments and of the latent perfection in the Russian masses, adopted a program of pure political direct action of the simplest kind: assassination. Merely by killing the leaders of states (not only in Russia but throughout the world), governments could be eliminated and the masses freed for social cooperation and agrarian Socialism. From this background came the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881, of King Humbert of Italy in 1900, of President McKinley in 1901, as well as many anarchist outrages in Russia, Spain, and Italy in the period 1890-1910. The failure of governments to disappear in the face of this terrorist agitation, especially in Russia, where the oppression of autocracy increased after 1881, led, little by little, to a fading of the Intelligentsia's faith in destructive violence as a constructive action, as well as in the satisfying peasant commune, and in the survival of natural innocence in the unthinking masses."

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Chapter 7 (Creation of the Russian Civilization), p. 86-91

"On the eve of the First World War, the Russian economy was in a very dubious state of health. As we have said, it was a patchwork affair, very much lacking in integration, very dependent on foreign and government support, racked by labor disturbances, and, what was even more threatening, by labor disturbances based on political rather than on economic motives, and shot through with all kinds of technological weaknesses and discords. As an example of the last, we might mention the fact that over half of Russia's pig iron was made with charcoal as late as 1900 and some of Russia's most promising natural resources were left unused as a result of the restrictive outlook of monopoly capitalists. The failure to develop a domestic market left costs of distribution fantastically high and left the Russian per capita consumption of almost all important commodities fantastically low. Moreover, to make matters worse, Russia as a consequence of these things was losing ground in the race of production with France, Germany, and the United States. These economic developments had profound political effects under the weak-willed Czar Nicholas II (1894-1917). For about a decade Nicholas tried to combine ruthless civil repression, economic advance, and an imperialist foreign policy in the Balkans and the Far East, with pious worldwide publicity for peace and universal disarmament, domestic distractions like anti-Semitic massacres (pogroms), forged terroristic documents, and faked terroristic attempts on the lives of high officials, including himself. This unlikely melange collapsed completely in 1905-1908. When Count Witte attempted to begin some kind of constitutional development by getting in touch with the functioning units of local government (the zemstvos, which had been effective in the famine of 1891), he was ousted from his position by an intrigue led by the murderous Minister of Interior Vyacheslav Plehve (1903). The civil head of the Orthodox Church, Konstantin Pobedonostsev (1827-1907) persecuted all dissenting religions, while allowing the Orthodox Church to become enveloped in ignorance and corruption. Most Roman Catholic monasteries in Poland were confiscated, while priests of that religion were forbidden to leave their villages. In Finland construction of Lutheran churches was forbidden, and schools of this religion were taken over by the Moscow government. The Jews were persecuted, restricted to certain provinces (the Pale), excluded from most economic activities, subjected to heavy taxes (even on their religious activities), and allowed to form only ten percent of the pupils in schools (even in villages which were almost completely Jewish and where the schools were supported entirely by Jewish taxes). Hundreds of Jews were massacred and thousands of their buildings wrecked in systematic three-day pogroms tolerated and sometimes encouraged by the police. Marriages (and children) of Roman Catholic Uniates were made illegitimate. The Moslems in Asia and elsewhere were also persecuted. Every effort was made to Russify non-Russian national groups, especially on the western frontiers. The Finns, Baltic Germans, and Poles were not allowed to use their own languages in public life, and had to use Russian even in private schools and even on the primary level. Administrative autonomy in these areas, even that solemnly promised to Finland long before, was destroyed, and they were dominated by Russian police, Russian education, and the Russian Army. The peoples of these areas were subjected to military conscription more rigorously than the Russians themselves, and were Russified while in the ranks. Against the Russians themselves, unbelievable extremes of espionage, counterespionage, censorship, provocation, imprisonment without trial, and outright brutality were employed. The revolutionaries responded with similar measures crowned by assassination. No one could trust anyone else, because revolutionaries were in the police, and members of the police were in the highest ranks of the revolutionaries. Georgi Gapon, a priest secretly in the pay of the government, was encouraged to form labor unions and lead workers' agitations in order to increase the employers' dependence on the autocracy, but when, in 1905, Gapon led a mass march of workers to the Winter Palace to present a petition to the czar, they were attacked by the troops and hundreds were shot. Gapon was murdered the following year by the revolutionaries as a traitor. In order to discredit the revolutionaries, the central Police Department in St.

Petersburg "printed at the government expense violent appeals to riot" which were circulated all over the country by an organization of reactionaries. In one year (1906) the government exiled 35,000 persons without trial and executed over 600 persons under a new decree which fixed the death penalty for ordinary crimes like robbery or insults to officials. In the three years 1906-1908, 5,140 officials were killed or wounded, and 2,328 arrested persons were executed. In 1909 it was revealed that a police agent, Azeff, had been a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionaries for years and had participated in plots to murder high officials, including Plehve and the Grand Duke Sergius, without warning these. The former chief of police who revealed this fact was sent to prison for doing so. Under conditions such as these no sensible government was possible and all appeals for moderation were crushed between the extremists from both sides. The defeats of Russian forces in the war with Japan in 1904-1905 brought events to a head. All dissatisfied groups began to agitate, culminating in a successful general strike in October 1905. The emperor began to offer political reforms, although what was extended one day was frequently taken back shortly after. A consultative assembly, the Duma, was established, elected on a broad suffrage but by very complicated procedures designed to reduce the democratic element. In the face of agrarian atrocities, endless strikes, and mutinies in both the army and navy, the censorship was temporarily lifted, and the first Duma met (May 1906). It had a number of able men and was dominated by two hastily organized political parties, the Cadets (somewhat left of Center) and the Octobrists (somewhat right of Center). Plans for wholesale reform were in the wind, and, when the czar's chief minister rejected such plans, he was overwhelmingly censured by the Duma."

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Chapter 7 (Creation of the Russian Civilization), p. 97-99

"The general trend of intellectual development in Russia in the years before 1914 could hardly be regarded as hopeful. To be sure, there were considerable advances in some fields such as literacy, natural science, mathematics, and economic thought, but these contributed little to any growth of moderation or to Russia's greatest intellectual need, a more integrated outlook on life. The influence of the old Orthodox religious attitude continued even in those who most emphatically rejected it. The basic attitude of the Western tradition had grown toward diversity and toleration, based on the belief that every aspect of life and of human experience and every individual has some place in the complex structure of reality if that place can only be found and that, accordingly, unity of the whole of life can be reached by way of diversity rather than by any compulsory uniformity. This idea was entirely foreign to the Russian mind. Any Russian thinker, and hordes of other Russians with no capacity for thought, were driven by an insatiable thirst to find the "key" to life and to truth. Once this "key" has been found, all other aspects of human experience must be rejected as evil, and all men must be compelled to accept that key as the whole of life in a dreadful unity of uniformity. To make matters worse, many Russian thinkers sought to analyze the complexities of human experience by polarizing these into antitheses of mutually exclusive dualisms: Westerners versus Slavophiles, individualism versus community, freedom versus fate, revolutionary versus reactionary, nature versus conventions, autocracy versus anarchy, and such. There was no logical correlation between these, so that individual thinkers frequently embraced either side of any antithesis, forming an incredible mixture of emotionally held faiths. Moreover, individual thinkers frequently shifted from one side to another, or even oscillated back and forth between the extremes of these dualisms. In the most typical Russian minds both extremes were held simultaneously, regardless of logical compatibility, in some kind of higher mystic unity beyond rational analysis. Thus, Russian thought provides us with striking examples of God-intoxicated atheists, revolutionary reactionaries, violent nonresisters, belligerent pacifists, compulsory liberators, and individualistic totalitarians. The basic characteristic of Russian thought is its extremism. This took two forms: (1) any portion of human experience to which allegiance was given became the whole truth, demanding total allegiance, all else being evil deception; and (2) every living person was expected to accept this same portion or be damned as a minion of anti-Christ. Those who embraced the state were expected to embrace it as an autocracy in which the individual had no rights, else their allegiance was not pure; those who denied the state were expected to reject it utterly by adopting anarchism. Those who became materialists had to become complete nihilists without place for any convention, ceremony, or sentiment. Those who questioned some minor aspect of the religious system were expected to become militant atheists, and if they did not take this step themselves, were driven to it by the clergy. Those who were considered to be spiritual or said they were spiritual were forgiven every kind of corruption and lechery (like Rasputin) because such material aspects were irrelevant. Those who sympathized with the oppressed were expected to bury themselves in the masses, living like them, eating like them, dressing like them, and renouncing all culture and thought (if they believed the masses lacked these things). The extremism of Russian thinkers can be seen in their attitudes toward such basic aspects of human experience as property, reason, the state, art, sex, or power. Always there was a fanatical tendency to eliminate as sinful and evil anything except the one aspect which the thinker considered to be the key to the cosmos. Alexei Khomyakov (1804-1860), a Slavophile, wanted to reject reason completely, regarding it as "the mortal sin of the West," while Fëdor Dostoevski (1821-1881) went so far in this direction that he wished to destroy all logic and all arithmetic, seeking, he said, "to free humanity from the tyranny of two plus two equals four." Many Russian thinkers, long before the Soviets, regarded all property as sinful. Others felt the same way about sex. Leo Tolstoi, the great novelist and essayist (1828-1910), considered all property and all sex to be evil. Western thought, which has usually tried to find a place in the cosmos for everything and has felt that anything is acceptable in its proper place, recoils from such fanaticism. The West, for example, has rarely felt it necessary to justify the existence of art, but many thinkers in Russia (like Plato long ago) have rejected all art as evil. Tolstoi, among others, had moments (as in the essay *What Is Art?* Of 1897 or *On Shakespeare and the Drama* of 1903) when he denounced most art and literature, including his own novels, as vain, irrelevant, and satanic. Similarly the West, while it has sometimes looked askance at sex and more frequently has over-emphasized it, has

generally felt that sex had a proper function in its proper place. In Russia, however, many thinkers including once again Tolstoi (The Kreutzer Sonata of 1889), have insisted that sex was evil in all places and under all circumstances, and most sinful in marriage. The disruptive effects of such ideas upon social or family life can be seen in the later years of Tolstoi's personal life, culminating in his last final hatred of his long-suffering wife whom he came to regard as the instrument of his fall from grace. But while Tolstoi praised marriage without sex, other Russians, with even greater vehemence, praised sex without marriage, regarding this social institution as an unnecessary impediment in the path of pure human impulse. In some ways we find in Tolstoi the culmination of Russian thought. He rejected all power, all violence, most art, all sex, all public authority, and all property as evil. To him the key of the universe was to be found in Christ's injunction, "Resist not evil." All other aspects of Christ's teachings except those which flow directly from this were rejected, including any belief in Christ's divinity or in a personal God. From this injunction flowed Tolstoi's ideas of nonviolence and nonresistance and his faith that only in this way could man's capacity for a spiritual love so powerful that it could solve all social problems be liberated. This idea of Tolstoi, although based on Christ's injunction, is not so much a reflection of Christianity as it is of the basic Russian assumption that any physical defeat must represent a spiritual victory, and that the latter could be achieved only through the former. Such a point of view could be held only by persons to whom all prosperity or happiness is not only irrelevant but sinful. And this point of view could be held with such fanaticism only by persons to whom life, family, or any objective gain is worthless. This is a dominant idea in all the Russian Intelligentsia, an idea going back through Plato to ancient Asia: All objective reality is of no importance except as symbols for some subjective truth. This was, of course, the point of view of the Neoplatonic thinkers of the early Christian period. It was generally the point of view of the early Christian heretics and of those Western heretics like the Cathari (Albigenses) who were derived from this Eastern philosophic position. In modern Russian thought it is well represented by Dostoevski, who while chronologically earlier than Tolstoi is spiritually later. To Dostoevski every object and every act is merely a symbol for some elusive spiritual truth. From this point of view comes an outlook which makes his characters almost incomprehensible to the average person in the Western tradition: if such a character obtains a fortune, he cries, "I am ruined!" If he is acquitted on a murder charge, or seems likely to be, he exclaims, "I am condemned," and seeks to incriminate himself in order to ensure the punishment which is so necessary for his own spiritual self-acquittal. If he deliberately misses his opponent in a duel, he has a guilty conscience, and says, "I should not have injured him thus; I should have killed him!" In each case the speaker cares nothing about property, punishment, or life. He cares only about spiritual values: asceticism, guilt, remorse, injury to one's self-respect. In the same way, the early religious thinkers, both Christian and non-Christian, regarded all objects as symbols for spiritual values, all temporal success as an inhibition on spiritual life, and felt that wealth could be obtained only by getting rid of property, life could be found only by dying (a direct quotation from Plato), eternity could be found only if time ended, and the soul could be freed only if the body were enslaved. Thus, as late as 1910 when Tolstoi died, Russia remained true to its Greek-Byzantine intellectual tradition. We have noted that Dostoevski, who lived slightly before Tolstoi, nevertheless had ideas which were chronologically in advance of Tolstoi's ideas. In fact, in many ways, Dostoevski was a precursor of the Bolsheviks. **Concentrating his attention on poverty, crime, and human misery, always seeking the real meaning behind every overt act or word, he eventually reached a position where the distinction between appearance and significance became so wide that these two were in contradiction with each other. This contradiction was really the struggle between God and the Devil in the soul of man. Since this struggle is without end, there is no solution to men's problems except to face suffering resolutely. Such suffering purges men of all artificiality and joins them together in one mass. In this mass the Russian people, because of their greater suffering and their greater spirituality, are the hope of the world and must save the world from the materialism, violence, and selfishness of Western civilization. The Russian people, on the other hand, filled with self-sacrifice, and with no allegiance to luxury or material gain, and purified by suffering which makes them the brothers of all other suffering people, will save the world by taking up the sword of righteousness against the forces of evil stemming from Europe. Constantinople will be seized, all the Slavs will be liberated, and Europe and the world will be forced into freedom by conquest, so that Moscow may become the Third Rome. Before Russia is fit to save the world in this way, however, the Russian intellectuals must merge themselves in the great mass of the suffering Russian people, and the Russian people must adopt Europe's science and technology uncontaminated by any European ideology. The blood spilled in this effort to extend Slav brotherhood to the whole world by force will aid the cause, for suffering shared will make men one.** This mystical Slav imperialism with its apocalyptic overtones was by no means uniquely Dostoevski's. It was held in a vague and implicit fashion by many Russian thinkers, and had a wide appeal to the unthinking masses. It was implied in much of the propaganda of Pan-Slavism, and became semiofficial with the growth of this propaganda after 1908. It was widespread among the Orthodox clergy, who emphasized the reign of righteousness which would follow the millennialist establishment of Moscow as the "Third Rome." It was explicitly stated in a book, *Russia and Europe*, published in 1869 by Nicholas Danilevsky (1822-1885). Such ideas, as we shall see, did not die out with the passing of the Romanov autocracy in 1917, but became even more influential, merging with the Leninist revision of Marxism to provide the ideology of Soviet Russia after 1917."

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Chapter 7 (Creation of the Russian Civilization), p. 101-105

2012 Bilderberg Meetings Conference at Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. (near Washington, D.C.): Foreign Intrigue or Organized Crime?



Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (left) greets Prime Minister of Russia Vladimir Putin (right) during their meeting in Moscow, Russia on January 20, 2012. Henry Kissinger is a longtime member of the Bilderberg Group, a private European organization. Henry Kissinger is a longtime member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private political organization in New York City, and a longtime member of the Trilateral Commission. **Henry Kissinger attended the 2012 Bilderberg Meetings held in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. from May 31-June 3, 2012.** (AP Photo)



Henry Kissinger (left) meets with President of Russia Vladimir Putin in St. Petersburg, Russia on June 21, 2012. **Henry Kissinger attended the 2012 Bilderberg Meetings held in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. from May 31-June 3, 2012.** (Photo: Presidential Press and Information Office/[Kremlin](http://kremlin.ru))



President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich, (left) greets former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in Kiev, Ukraine on Monday, June 25, 2012. **Henry Kissinger attended the 2012 Bilderberg Meetings held in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. from May 31-June 3, 2012.** (AP Photo)

Ukraine Signs \$10 Billion Shale Gas Deal with Shell

VOA News

January 24, 2013

Ukraine has signed a \$10 billion shale gas exploration deal with Royal Dutch Shell -- a major step in weaning Ukraine off Russian gas exports. Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich oversaw the signing of the 50-year production sharing deal Thursday at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, calling it "just the beginning." Experts believe Ukraine has one of the world's largest deposits of shale gas -- enough to supply the country's energy needs for decades. Shell plans to drill 15 test wells into a massive gas field in eastern Ukraine. **Ukraine is widely dependent on exported Russian natural gas for its energy needs. Ukraine says Russia charges too much and is unwilling to renegotiate the price.** Russia insists Ukraine join a Russian-led trade union before it talks about gas prices. **Russia cut gas supplies to Ukraine twice in the past seven years because of price disputes. The cuts disrupted supplies into Eastern Europe in the middle of freezing cold winters.**

Source: <http://www.voanews.com/content/ukraine-signs-10-billion-shale-gas-deal-with-shell/1590447.html>



Left to right: Fuel Minister of Ukraine Eduard Stavitsky, President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich, Prime Minister of the Netherlands Mark Rutte and CEO of Royal Dutch Shell Peter Voser shake hands after exchanging a signed agreement at the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, Switzerland on January 24, 2013. (Reuters)

Prime Minister of the Netherlands Mark Rutte and CEO of Royal Dutch Shell Peter Voser attended the 2012 Bilderberg Meetings held in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. from May 31, 2012 until June 3, 2012. Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands, Then-U.S. Senator John Forbes Kerry, Henry Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State (1973-1977), and Igor S. Ivanov, Foreign Minister of Russia (1998-2004), also attended the 2012 Bilderberg Meetings.



Prime Minister of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) meets with Chancellor of Austria Werner Faymann in Vienna, Austria in April 2010. **Werner Faymann attended the 2012 Bilderberg Meetings held in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. from May 31, 2012 until June 3, 2012.** (Photo: http://www.rferl.org/content/Austria_Signs_On_To_South_Stream/2023452.html)

Austria Signs On To South Stream

April 24, 2010

Austria has signed an agreement to participate in a Russian-backed pipeline project to bring additional volumes of natural gas to Europe. Austrian Economy Minister Reinhold Mitterlehner and Russian Energy Minister Sergei Shmatko signed an agreement on cooperation in construction of the South Stream gas pipeline. Gazprom chief Aleksei Miller and Wolfgang Rutenstorfer of Austria's OMV Gas and Power signed another agreement on cooperation. The agreements were signed as Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin starts a visit to Austria. Putin met earlier with Austrian Chancellor Werner Faymann. Following that meeting, Putin said Austria would receive an additional 2 billion cubic meters (bcm) of gas annually from South Stream. When completed, the South Stream gas pipeline would carry some 63 bcm of gas annually from Russia through Bulgaria, Serbia, and Hungary to Austria with a possible branch line heading south through Greece to Italy. South Stream is seen by some as a rival project to the EU-backed Nabucco gas-pipeline project. Putin is also scheduled to meet with Austrian President Heinz Fischer before attending the European Judo Championships in Vienna later today.

Source: [Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty](http://www.rferl.org/content/Austria_Signs_On_To_South_Stream/2023452.html)



The Westfields Marriott Hotel in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. is under tight security in anticipation of the beginning of the 2012 Bilderberg conference on Thursday, May 31, 2012. Police cars guard the main entrance, and security guards and police informed the media that anyone coming onto hotel property would be escorted off or arrested if they did not comply. The 2012 Bilderberg Meetings was held at the Westfields Marriott Hotel in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A., located near Washington-Dulles International Airport and Manassas National Battlefield Park from Thursday, May 31, 2012 to Sunday, June 3, 2012. (Photo: Barbara L. Salisbury/[The Washington Times](#))



Pascal Lamy (left), Director-General of the World Trade Organization, and Robert Zoellick (right), President of the World Bank, attend a meeting at the Chancellery in Berlin, Germany on April 28, 2010. Lamy and Zoellick attended the 2012 Bilderberg Meetings held in Chantilly, Virginia in early June 2012. (Photo: Andreas Rentz/Getty Images Europe)



Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger departs the 2012 Bilderberg Meetings in a limousine in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. on Sunday, June 3, 2012. Protestors in the background protested against the secret Bilderberg Meetings that was held at the Westfields Marriott Hotel in Chantilly. (Photo: <http://www.prisonplanet.com/war-criminal-kissinger-pictured-leaving-bilderberg.html>)



Her Royal Majesty Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands departs the 2012 Bilderberg Meetings in a limousine in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. on Sunday, June 3, 2012. (Photo: Hannah Borno/[The Guardian](http://www.theguardian.com))



A photo of the dining room inside the Westfields Marriott Hotel in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A., the site of the 2012 Bilderberg Meetings, 2008 Bilderberg Meetings, and 2002 Bilderberg Meetings. (Photo: [Philip Kent Photography](#))

“As a result of this and later meetings, plans were made for our first session to be held at the Hotel Bilderberg at Oosterbeek, Holland. It was an old-fashioned summer hotel in a wooded park, and, concerned for the security of so many famous guests, the government had established a plainclothes guard behind every tree. Amused by such highly visible precautions, I told the Prince on the second day that I was going stir crazy; we then speculated on the chances of my getting out of the hotel and to the main road without getting shot. Thereafter, for twenty-seven years, our group met at least once a year at a quiet retreat (usually a tourist hotel off season) for two and a half days of serious discussion. In addition, there were small meetings of the Steering Committee, held until recently at Soestdijk Palace, Prince Bernard’s country home. Except during my years in the government, I was a member of the Steering Committee from the formation of the group until 1979. Then the Bilderberg founders turned it over to a younger group, although I remain an adviser. I have attended every Bilderberg meeting with one exception. **The Bilderberg meetings primarily concentrate on a single objective: to try to clear up abrasive problems and attitudes that could poison effective relations between America and Europe.** The meetings are attended by the members of a permanent steering committee of Europeans and Americans and by other men and women of achievement and competence specially invited on each occasion. Attendance is limited to roughly eighty persons. **Candor is assured by ground rules that forbid anyone to discuss the meetings except in the most general way or, in outside conversation, to attribute expressed views to any individual. At each meeting, there is a political and an economic problem to which the discussion is addressed.** All views are taken as individual expressions; no one speaks for his government, his political party, or any other organization. The real distinction of Bilderberg is not, however, its ground rules but the extraordinary quality of those who attend the meetings. There is hardly a major political figure from Europe or the United States who has not been invited at least once. Of the present or recent heads of government, Helmut Schmidt, the German Chancellor, has attended several times, and among others who have come one or more times have been Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, Harold Wilson, James Callaghan, Edward Heath, Margaret Thatcher, René Plevin, Guy Mollet, Pierre Mendes-France, as well as Prince Philip, Denis Healey, Dean Rusk, Dean Acheson, Henry Kissinger, and Cyrus Vance...Bilderberg’s most valuable achievement has been to provide for the development of easy relations between individuals of disparate backgrounds, eating, drinking, walking – and constantly talking – together in isolated settings. When I joined the State Department in 1961, I was already well acquainted with most Western leaders. Some I knew particularly well, since we had been together at Bilderberg on more than one occasion.”

– George W. Ball, from his autobiography *The Past Has Another Pattern: Memoirs* (p. 105-106; published in 1982)

Prominent Guests Who Attended the 2012 Bilderberg Meetings



Igor S. Ivanov
Foreign Minister of Russia
(1998-2004)



Garry Kasparov
Chairman, United Civil
Front (of Russia); Russian
chess grandmaster



Queen Beatrix of The
Netherlands
(reign, 1980-2013)



Henry A. Kissinger
U.S. Secretary of State
(1973-1977)



John F. Kerry
U.S. Secretary of State
(2013-present)



Robert B. Zoellick
President of The World
Bank (2007-2012)



Mark J. Carney
Governor of the Bank of
England (2013-present)



Marcus Agius
Chairman of Barclays
Bank PLC (2007-present)



Pascal Lamy
Director-General of the
World Trade Organization
(2005-2013)



Jorma Ollila
Chairman of the board of
Royal Dutch Shell
(2006-present)



Anatoly B. Chubais
First Deputy Prime
Minister of Russia
(1997-1998)



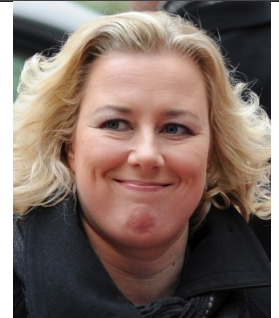
Mark Rutte
Prime Minister of the
Netherlands
(2010-present)



King Philippe of Belgium
(July 21, 2013-present)



Jacek Rostowski
Finance Minister of
Poland (2007-present)



Jutta Urpilainen
Finance Minister of
Finland (2011-present)



James D. Wolfensohn
President of the World
Bank (1995-2005)



Kenneth M. Jacobs
Chairman of the board of
Lazard [bank]
(2009-present)



Robert E. Rubin
U.S. Secretary of the
Treasury (1995-1999)



Jessica T. Mathews
President of Carnegie
Endowment for
International Peace
(1997-present)



Itamar Rabinovich
Israeli Ambassador to the
United States
(1993-1996)

2013 Bilderberg Meetings Conference

at Hertfordshire, Great Britain (near London):

Foreign Intrigue or Organized Crime?



From Russia With Love?: Bilderberg Meetings participant Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands (left) shares a toast with President of Russia Vladimir Putin after they unveiled a plaque with hand imprint of Peter the Great during a tour of the Hermitage Museum in Amsterdam, Netherlands on April 8, 2013. **Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held in Hertfordshire, England near London from June 6-9, 2013.** Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands is a direct descendant of Catherine the Great and Peter the Great. (Photo: [AFP Photo](#))



Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands (left) and President of Russia Vladimir Putin toast after they unveiled a plaque with hand imprint of Peter the Great during a tour of the Amsterdam Hermitage Museum in Amsterdam, Netherlands on April 8, 2013. **Russia maintains a portion of its assets in the Netherlands.** (REUTERS/Alexei Druzhinin/RIA Novosti/Pool)



Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands (left) and President of Russia Vladimir Putin toast after they unveiled a plaque with hand imprint of Peter the Great during a tour of the Amsterdam Hermitage Museum in Amsterdam, Netherlands on April 8, 2013.



Bilderberg Meetings participant Prime Minister of the Netherlands Mark Rutte (left) chats with President of Russia Vladimir Putin on the sidelines of the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum on June 20, 2013. **Mark Rutte attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held in Hertfordshire, England near London from June 6-9, 2013.** (Photo: [Rijksoverheid](http://rijksoverheid.nl))



Prime Minister of Great Britain David Cameron (left), who attended the Bilderberg Meetings in Hertfordshire, England near London in June 2013, appears with Arseniy Yatsenyuk (right), the Prime Minister of Ukraine, during the signing of the political provisions of the Association Agreement with Ukraine at the European Union headquarters in Brussels, Belgium on March 21, 2014. **David Cameron attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held in Hertfordshire, England near London from June 6-9, 2013.** (Reuters)



In this handout image provided by Host Photo Agency, President of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) shakes hands with Bilderberg Meetings participant Christine Lagarde, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, at the G20 Summit in St. Petersburg, Russia on September 5, 2013. **Christine Lagarde attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings that was held in Hertfordshire, England near London from June 6-9, 2013.** (Photo: Handout/Getty Images Europe)



Prime Minister of Italy Mario Monti (left), a longtime Bilderberg Meetings participant, greets President of Russia Vladimir Putin in Russia. **Mario Monti attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held in Hertfordshire, England near London from June 6-9, 2013.** (AP Photo/RIA-Novosti, Alexei Druzhinin, Presidential Press Service)



Prime Minister of Italy Mario Monti (right) greets Prime Minister of Russia Dimitri Medvedev. **Mario Monti attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held in Hertfordshire, England near London from June 6-9, 2013.**
(AP Photo/RIA Novosti, Alexander Astafyev, Government Press Service)



Prime Minister of Great Britain David Cameron greets President of Russia Vladimir Putin at 10 Downing Street, the office of the Prime Minister, in London on June 16, 2013. **Prime Minister of Great Britain David Cameron attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held in Hertfordshire, England near London from June 6-9, 2013.** (Getty Images)



The Grove Hotel in Hertfordshire, England, located just north of Watford, near London, was the site of the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings. (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/keltic/3027459751/>)



Conservative party leader David Cameron (left), the current Prime Minister of Great Britain, appears with Shadow Chancellor George Osborne (center) as he introduces Kenneth Clarke (right) to his economic team at Portcullis House in London on January 19, 2009. Kenneth Clarke returned to the Conservative front bench to assume the role of Shadow Business Secretary. **David Cameron, George Osborne, and Kenneth Clarke attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held at The Grove hotel in Hertfordshire (Watford), England from June 6-9, 2013.** (Photo by Oli Scarff/Getty Images)



Christine Lagarde (left), Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), greets former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at the Economic Club of New York in New York City on April 10, 2013. **Lagarde and Kissinger attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held at The Grove hotel in Hertfordshire (Watford), England from June 6-9, 2013.** (Photo: [Economic Club of New York](#))



President of the European Commission Jose Manuel Barroso (left) discussed European Union economic crisis management and reform with Council on Foreign Relations member James D. Wolfensohn, former President of the World Bank. **Jose Manuel Barroso and James D. Wolfensohn attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held at The Grove in Hertfordshire (Watford), England from June 6-9, 2013.** (Photo: [Council on Foreign Relations 2011 Annual Report](#))

General Motors Enters New Era in Russia and investing US \$1 billion in its Russian operations

St. Petersburg, Russia
June 22, 2012

General Motors broke ground today for the expansion of GM Auto, its wholly owned manufacturing facility in St. Petersburg, Russia.

It will more than double GM Auto's annual production capacity from the current 98,000 vehicles to 230,000 vehicles by 2015.

The project is the most significant development for GM's Russian operations since GM Auto opened in 2008.

GM Auto's expansion is part of an historic partnership formed last year with the Russian Federal Ministry of Economic Development that will lead to GM investing US \$1 billion in its Russian operations over the next five years.

The investment will also support the increase of production at the GM-AVTOVAZ joint venture in Togliatti, Russia, resulting in combined annual Russian production capacity for GM of 350,000 vehicles.

GM Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Dan Akerson, Russian Federal Deputy Minister Alexey Rakhmanov, U.S. Ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul, and former U.S. Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger joined senior representatives from GM Russia and GM Auto employees at today's celebration.

When the expansion is complete, employment at the facility will increase from 2,500 to 4,000 people.

They will manufacture Chevrolet and Opel models for the Russian market.

Among the additional vehicles that will be produced at GM Auto is the new Opel Astra sedan, which will make its worldwide debut at the Moscow International Motor Show in August.

"General Motors is embarking on a new era in Russia, one of the world's fastest-growing vehicle markets, as part of our strategy to build where we sell," said Akerson. "The global vehicles that we produce and the manufacturing systems that we are putting in place are creating long-term benefits for Russia's automotive industry, its supply base and its economy.

"Our growing investment is the strongest possible endorsement by General Motors of our intent to make Russia a significant part of our international operations. Our vision in Russia, as in all of the other markets where we do business, is to design, build and sell the world's best vehicles," he said.

During his three-day visit to Russia, Akerson also addressed business leaders and media at the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum on June 22.

He discussed the importance of investing first in products and technology, being well-positioned for profitable growth and building strong brands that connect with customers worldwide.

General Motors Co. (NYSE:GM, TSX: GMM) and its partners produce vehicles in 30 countries, and the company has leadership positions in the world's largest and fastest-growing automotive markets.

GM's brands include Chevrolet and Cadillac, as well as Baojun, Buick, GMC, Holden, Isuzu, Jiefang, Opel, Vauxhall and Wuling.

More information on the company and its subsidiaries, including OnStar, a global leader in vehicle safety, security and information services, can be found at <http://www.gm.com>

Source: <http://www.astroman.com.pl/?mod=magazine&a=read&id=1260>



Dan Akerson (left), Chairman and CEO of General Motors, greets former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (center) and U.S. Ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul (right) in St. Petersburg, Russia on Friday, June 22, 2012, before the groundbreaking for the expansion of GM Auto, its wholly owned manufacturing facility in St. Petersburg, Russia. The expansion will more than double GM Auto's annual production capacity from the current 98,000 vehicles to 230,000 vehicles by 2015. **Henry Kissinger and Michael McFaul are members of the Council on Foreign Relations.** (Photo courtesy GM) (Photo: <http://www.astroman.com.pl/?mod=magazine&a=read&id=1260>)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) meets with Henry Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State and honorary IOC member, during the opening ceremony of the 112th Session of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in Moscow, Russia on July 12, 2001. (Photo: Russian Presidential Press and Information Office/Kremlin)



**At the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
in Moscow on 18 January 1989**

*[From left to right] David Rockefeller, Georges Berthoin, Mikhail Gorbachev,
Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Henry Kissinger, Yasuhiro Nakasone, Yoshio Okawara*

David Rockefeller, the founder of the Trilateral Commission, and other members of the Trilateral Commission visit Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow, Soviet Union on January 18, 1989.

(Source: http://www.trilateral.org/download/doc/Commemorating_1989.pdf)

“Today Americans would be outraged if U.N. troops entered Los Angeles to restore order; tomorrow they will be grateful! This is especially true if they were told there was an outside threat from beyond, whether real or promulgated, that threatened our very existence. It is then that all people of the world will plead with world leaders to deliver them from this evil. The one thing every man fears is the unknown. **When presented with this scenario, individual rights will be willingly relinquished for the guarantee of their well being granted to them by their world government.**”

– Henry Kissinger, in a speech at the Bilderberg Meetings in Evian, France on May 21, 1992. Kissinger’s speech was tape-recorded by one of the Swiss delegates at that Bilderberg Meetings.

“For more than a century ideological extremists at either end of the political spectrum have seized upon well-publicized incidents such as my encounter with Castro to attack the Rockefeller family for the inordinate influence they claim we wield over American political and economic institutions. Some even believe we are part of a secret cabal working against the best interests of the United States, characterizing my family and me as ‘internationalists’ and of conspiring with others around the world to build a more integrated global political and economic structure – one world, if you will. If that’s the charge, I stand guilty, and I am proud of it.” – David Rockefeller, 2002, from his book *Memoirs*, p. 405



Secretary General of NATO Anders Fogh Rasmussen speaks at Chatham House in London on July 4, 2012. Chatham House is the headquarters of **The Royal Institute of International Affairs**, a British political organization.
(Photo: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-6F7538FA-1B10844C/natolive/photos_88913.htm)



Madeleine Albright, former U.S. Secretary of State, attends a meeting at the Chatham House in London on April 19, 2013.
(Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/chathamhouse/8663275224/>)



President Barack Obama drops by National Security Advisor Gen. James Jones' meeting with former national security advisors in the Situation Room of the White House on March 24, 2010. Seated at the table, from left to right are: Brent Scowcroft, Robert "Bud" McFarlane, Colin Powell (former U.S. Secretary of State), Dennis Ross (Senior National Security Council Director for the central region), Sandy Berger, Frank Carlucci (former U.S. Secretary of Defense and former Chairman of the Carlyle Group), and Zbigniew Brzezinski. Michael McFaul is seated in the background, behind Colin Powell. Everyone in the photograph except for President Barack Obama (and the unidentified man seated behind McFarlane) is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. ([Official White House Photo by Pete Souza](#))

“So you see, my dear Coningsby, that the world is governed by very different personages from what is imagined by those who are not behind the scenes.”

– Benjamin Disraeli, former Prime Minister of Great Britain (and Jewish politician)



U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (center) watches U.S. Secretary of Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates (left) greet President of Russia Vladimir Putin in Moscow, Russia on October 12, 2007. Robert M. Gates was the Director of Central Intelligence Agency from 1991 until 1993 under President George H.W. Bush; Putin was a KGB agent. Condoleezza Rice and Robert M. Gates are members of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private political organization in New York City. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



President of Russia Dmitry Medvedev shakes hands with former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright (left) before his speech at the Washington Club in Washington, D.C. on Saturday, November 15, 2008. Medvedev visited Washington to attend the Summit on Financial Markets and the World Economy on Saturday. (Reuters)



World Bank President Paul Wolfowitz (left) shakes hands with President of Russia Vladimir Putin in Moscow on October 20, 2005. (Photo: [© Courtesy of Alexey Kvasov/The World Bank](#))



Henry Paulson (left), U.S. Secretary of the Treasury and former chairman of the board of Goldman Sachs bank, meets with Prime Minister of Russia Vladimir Putin during his visit to Moscow, Russia on June 30, 2008. **Henry Paulson attended the 2008 Bilderberg Meetings held in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. from June 5-8, 2008.** (AFP/Getty Images)



World Bank President James Wolfensohn (left) shakes hands with Russia's President Vladimir Putin during their meeting at the Novo-Ogarevo residence outside Moscow on January 20, 2004. Putin awarded Wolfensohn with the Russian Order of Friendship. (Alexey Panov/ITAR-TASS/AFP/Getty Images)



Prime Minister of Russia Vladimir Putin receives Thomas E. Donilon (left), National Security Advisor to the President of the United States, in Moscow, Russia on May 4, 2012.



Robert Zoellick, President of the World Bank, shakes hands with Prime Minister of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) in Moscow on **June 16, 2008**. **Robert Zoellick attended the 2008 Bilderberg Meetings held in Chantilly, Virginia, U.S.A. from 5-8 June 2008.** (Photo: [The World Bank](#))



Jewish banker Stanley Fischer (left), a dual citizen of Israel and United States of America, greets President of Russia Vladimir Putin. Stanley Fischer is a former Governor of the Bank of Israel (2005-2013) and designated Vice Chairman of the Federal Reserve.

Vladimir Putin served as President of Russia twice (May 7, 2000-May 7, 2008; May 7, 2012-present), Prime Minister of Russia twice (August 9, 1999-May 7, 2000; May 8, 2008-May 7, 2012), and Director of the Federal Security Service (July 25, 1998-March 29, 1999).

Front page photo: Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (left) greets Russia's Prime Minister Vladimir Putin (right) in Moscow, Russia on June 17, 2008. Kissinger was on a working visit to Russia. ([AFP/Getty Images](#))



John Forbes Kerry (left), the U.S. Secretary of State, appears with Foreign Minister of Russia Sergey Lavrov during a press conference in Moscow, Russia on May 8, 2013.



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry (left), accompanied by U.S. Ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul (2nd left) meets with President of Russia Vladimir Putin (right) and Foreign Minister of Russia Sergey Lavrov in Moscow, Russia, on May 7, 2013.
([U.S. State Department photo/Public Domain](#))



Russia's President Vladimir Putin, a former KGB agent, is flanked by former President George H.W. Bush (left) and President George W. Bush (right) at Walker's Point in Kennebunkport, Maine on Sunday, July 1, 2007. ([White House photo by Eric Draper](#))



A column of Russian T-90 tanks rolls through Red Square in Moscow, Russia during a Victory Day parade on May 9, 2013. (AFP Photo/Yuri Kadobnov)

“The limitation of Ukrainian autonomy in the Hetman state of eastern Ukraine was an ominous sign for the whole country, for the cultural center ever since the middle of the seventeenth century had been at Kiev. From here education and culture had gone out to supply the needs of remote sections of Ukraine, especially that part which was under the rule of Poland. **The partitioning of Ukraine in 1667 between Poland and Russia had dealt a deadly blow to Ukrainian life by separating Kiev from western Ukraine, and this act had provoked the Ukrainians to fury against Russia for her betrayal in dividing their country with Poland.** Although they attempted by every means at their command to preserve their cultural and national life, they found this extremely difficult. **Once they were politically separated, the two parts of Ukraine drifted further and further apart, the western section remaining subject to Polish influences while the eastern fell under the impress of Russia. The subjection of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church to the Patriarch of Moscow, which was accomplished against the will of the Ukrainian clergy and people, severed the connection between the dioceses of eastern and western Ukraine and enabled Poland to force Catholicism upon the Ukrainians with greater ease, while the Russification of Ukrainian schools and literature in eastern Ukraine raised a barrier against the western portion of the country;** in proportion as the sources of cultural impulse weakened and dried up in western Ukraine, its separation from Kiev led to a general cultural decline. It has been noted that the cultural center of western Ukraine at the end of the sixteenth century was the city of Lviv with its brotherhood, which gathered about itself and gave organization to not only the Ukrainian townspeople of Lviv but to the Ukrainian inhabitants of all eastern Galicia as well. These people, however, became Polonized, as did the townspeople of Lviv, and all their efforts to gain political equality and freedom for expression and development proved futile. Polish municipal government did not admit the participation of Ukrainians and hampered their economic and commercial freedom, and none of the Ukrainian complaints to the central government brought any relief. Moreover, during the seventeenth century Lviv was losing economic ground because of short-sighted Polish economic policies, and with economic decline the energy of the Ukrainian patriots was weakened. With the advent of depression, the more energetic and active Ukrainians left Lviv and Galicia and moved into eastern Ukraine to join the Kozaks. As has been said, the cultural leaders of Kiev during the third decade of the seventeenth century came chiefly from Lviv, and it was they who made Kiev the center of Ukrainian life, while Lviv and the rest of Galicia, abandoned by the most energetic people, began to lose their former cultural significance. The Lviv brotherhood lost its importance; and its chief glory, the school, declined in the middle decades of the seventeenth century, after which the main activity of the brotherhood consisted in the publishing of Church books, especially liturgies, which it provided to all eastern Ukraine. As its publications provided the chief source of income for the brotherhood, which therefore placed a high value upon this activity and especially upon its monopoly of publication of books for the Church, it permitted no other Ukrainian presses to open in Lviv. In the second part of the seventeenth century the Ukrainian national movement lost its significance even more rapidly, in part because Khmelnytsky temporarily improved conditions in eastern Ukraine and attracted large numbers of people to move there.”

– *A History of Ukraine* by Michael Hrushevsky (published in 1941), p. 422-423

“*The Russian Revolution and the Liberation of Ukraine:* Russian oppression of Ukraine always reached a high point during the celebration of Shevchenko 's name day, and persecutions were unusually severe when the revolution of February 25 (March 10), 1917,"suddenly broke out in Petrograd, as St. Petersburg had been renamed. The Ukrainian community in Petrograd played an important part in the uprising. There were several Ukrainians in contact with the commanding officers of one of the regiments which took the initiative, and Ukrainian soldiers and workingmen played a leading part in the actual revolt. In Ukraine the inhabitants received with joy the news of the downfall of the Romanovs as tidings of an event destined to bring about the emancipation of their fatherland. An old organization of Ukrainian Progressives, which had acted in secret before this time, now brought its program into the open and began to organize a new Ukrainian government in Kiev early in March. Communications were established with all the political groups in Kiev and a Ukrainian national organ of government was set up under the name of “the Ukrainian Central Council” (Ukrainska Centralna Rada). The Central Rada, as it was commonly known, was an assembly...”

– *A History of Ukraine* by Michael Hrushevsky (published in 1941), Chapter XXIV (Ukrainian Independence), p. 521

“The First World War: The marked development of Ukrainian nationalism in prewar times, both in Austrian and Russian Ukraine, exasperated the Polish and Russian enemies of Ukraine, who waited impatiently for an opportunity to put an end to the movement. They expected such an opportunity to arise in the event of war between Austria and Russia, hostile to each other ever since Austria had annexed Bosnia in 1908. In Russia extreme reactionaries, intensely displeased by Ukrainian progress, threatened that in case of war they would hang every Ukrainian, meanwhile appealing to the government to suppress the advance of nationalism. In Galicia, where the Austrian government had persecuted the pro-Russian faction, the Poles saw an opportunity to accuse the Ukrainians of many crimes, and when hostilities actually began the Polish officials in Galicia took advantage of the war emergency to attack the Ukrainian intellectuals. Under the pretense of combating the Russophiles, the Poles arrested other Ukrainians as well, imprisoning and exiling the leaders, especially men of prominence, on mere suspicion, and even executing a few without trial. In Russian Ukraine at the beginning of the war, the Russian government prepared and put into effect a plan of systematic persecution of the Ukrainian leaders, its activity in this respect becoming more drastic after Russia had captured Lviv, the capital of Galicia. All enemies of the Ukrainians now had some assurance of being able to put an end to the Ukrainian movement by destroying the source of its cultural growth in Galicia, and the motto of the Russian administration became “death to Ukrainianism.” Prior to the war the government had not followed the advice of the obscurantist anti-Ukrainian forces, but it now took the offensive. At the very beginning of the war, all Ukrainian publications of a political character were suppressed and large numbers of Ukrainian leaders arrested and sent into exile. The censorship in Kiev under the direction of old enemies of the Ukrainians proclaimed that it would permit no Ukrainian publications whatever unless they were written in the Russian orthography, although this act was an illegal application of the law of 1876, which had suppressed Ukrainian newspapers only. Lawsuits were instituted against innocent Ukrainian authors in order completely to suppress the Ukrainian publications in Kiev. To evade the censorship there, editors, authors, and publishers attempted to move to other cities, but everywhere met with the opposition of the officials, their publications being either prohibited outright or placed under restrictions, the censor in Odessa, for instance, demanding that the author submit three copies of the manuscript before printing, under threat of confiscation of the printed matter and padlocking of the press; this procedure was even more harmful than open censorship because it wasted time, energy, and money, and in the end ruined the publisher. Prohibitive activity of this kind reached its zenith early in 1917, a few weeks before the March revolution and the downfall of the Romanov dynasty, when the Russian government issued a secret order to the printers in Kiev to print nothing in the Ukrainian language. While Russia was making deliberate and skilful attempts to stifle the Ukrainian movement in Russian Ukraine, she was making efforts, from the time of her invasion of the province in 1914, to destroy the Ukrainian culture in Galicia by sheer force. Several weeks after the Russians captured Lviv, they set up a Russian administration under Count A. G. Bobrinsky, who began systematically to liquidate all Ukrainian gains thus far made. At the very outset he suppressed all Ukrainian newspapers, closed the libraries and reading rooms, and dissolved the Ukrainian societies; the next step was to arrest and exile to Siberia all “dangerous” and “suspected” authors. The use of the Ukrainian language was forbidden in schools and government. Steps were taken to abolish the local Uniate Catholic Church and to force the acceptance of the Russian Orthodox Church. When Ukrainian Uniate priests could not be found, many being in exile or in flight, Orthodox priests were sent to take their places, while such priests as dared to face the Russian invasion were pressed to accept the Orthodox faith; the officials also persuaded the people to petition for Orthodox priests. The Russian administration in Galicia, whose official advisers were Ukrainian renegades and whose unofficial advisers were Poles, maintained that the Poles should have special national rights in Galicia, while the Ukrainians and the Jews should not be favored but should be obliged to accept the Russian language and culture, a declaration to this effect being made by Bobrinsky during his visit to Russia in the spring of 1915, after the last Russian victory in Galicia and the capture of Peremyshl, when it appeared certain that Galicia would be annexed to Russia. The Russian plans for destruction were bad enough, but the manner in which they were executed was even worse. Russian officials later admitted that during their occupation of Galicia the country had fallen into the hands of scoundrel officials sent in by the Russian government, who took advantage of war conditions to conduct themselves lawlessly, plundering the homes of the inhabitants, abusing the Ukrainian and Jewish populace, and wrecking the Ukrainian cultural organizations. In some places Ukrainian clergy, scientists, and other intellectuals were expelled from their homes and communities. This was done in a typically barbarous manner, people being seized as they were and wherever they were found, with complete disregard for human rights, men and women, children and invalids alike being exiled to Siberia. The lives of an incredible number of human beings were thus uprooted, one of the relief committees in Kiev registering fifteen thousand cases, but a fraction of the total. There were instances where insane and deaf mutes were seized, “brought to account,” and exiled to Siberia in place of others who had succeeded in bribing the Russian officials. Ukrainian Galicia was completely desolated by the Russian occupation of 1914-15. When the Russians were compelled to retreat from the sub-Carpathian region, they took with them all the inhabitants they could gather; and many others, fearing Polish persecution, also departed before the Hungarian and German armies arrived. Many thousands of peasants allured by the glowing promises of the Russians voluntarily accompanied the Russian army to Russia. When the German army later advanced toward the Russian border, again it was Ukrainians who bore the brunt of the suffering, especially in the provinces of Kholm, Pidliashe, Volynia, and Podolia, where the Russian military authorities attempted to remove the Ukrainian inhabitants by force into the interior of Russia. Ukraine had not undergone such a depopulation since the “great eviction” of the 1670’s. People and livestock died on the way, and trains were jammed with innocent victims transported to Kazan or Perm, or beyond the Ural Mountains. Before its downfall the Russian government displayed its complete stupidity, its intention clearly being to destroy the Ukrainians as a nation by destroying their culture and their educated leadership and by depopulating their country and colonizing it with Poles, through whom it was to be controlled.”

– *A History of Ukraine* by Michael Hrushevsky (published in 1941), Chapter XXIV (Ukrainian Independence), p. 514-517

“The Ukrainian exiles were not permitted to organize themselves into war committees or to aid the suffering, nor was anyone permitted to bring assistance. The Russian government forbade Ukrainian children to be kept apart in separate groups and refused to permit the establishment of Ukrainian schools, although such a privilege was granted to the Poles, Letts, Lithuanians, and other nationalities. Even in exile the Ukrainians from Galicia were left under the control of Poles, in order that they might feel their "brotherly hand" in distant Siberia. The Ukrainians of Russia who had cooperated with the Russian liberals now sought their help, but in vain, and under the pressure of the government there appeared to be complete “unity of thought” in all Russian circles. When Sazonov, the minister of foreign affairs, declared before the Russian duma in 1915 that the Ukrainian movement was being supported by German money, none of the Ukrainian "allies" present dared to raise a protest against this patent lie. All the Ukrainian petitions in behalf of Galicia, suffering under the corrupt Russian rule, were filed away. Even friends of the Ukrainians held the opinion that under the existing conditions it was not safe to oppose Russian autocracy because of such “insignificant” acts as the government's assault on the Ukrainians. Meanwhile, the liberal leader Struve and other enemies hastened to take advantage of the war completely to destroy the Ukrainians as a separate people. In the dark hour for Russia when her army was compelled to evacuate Galicia a few Russians realized that the acts of repression had not succeeded in destroying the Ukrainian movement but had reacted against the interests of Russia herself, and during the short session of the duma on July 19, 1915, the government was severely criticized by Miliukov for its harshness in Galicia and because it had “rejected our native Ukrainian people and brought disgrace upon the idea that the war was fought for freedom.” The government was asked for an explanation. **The Ukrainians, in spite of the threat of persecution, again presented as a minimum demand permission to use the Ukrainian language in the schools.** In 1915 the newly organized Russian political Progressive bloc, although fearing to include these Ukrainian demands in its program, recognized the necessity of “allowing Ukrainian publications” and of “investigating immediately cases of the inhabitants of Galicia who had been arrested” and were languishing in Russian prisons. The duma, however, was dismissed before action could be taken, and consideration of the Ukrainian problem was postponed. **Although the Russian government continued its oppression of Ukrainian nationalism for a year and a half longer, even the Russian Progressives never raised their voices in protest. While the Russian government was making efforts to destroy the Ukrainian movement in Russia,** a new threat appeared to the Ukrainians in Galicia. After lengthy bargaining between Austria and Germany regarding the future status of Poland, Germany gained absolute control of this country by expelling General Brusilov in the summer of 1915, and the arrangement agreed upon between Austria and Germany could be put into effect. It provided that while Germany would dispose of the former Russian provinces of Poland, Austrian Poland would continue to remain in the hands of Austria. Galicia would not be divided, as Ukrainians had hoped, into separate Ukrainian (eastern) and Polish (western) parts, but would be governed as a unit, which in practice meant that it would be ruled by Poles and that the Ukrainian inhabitants would have no direct recourse to the Austrian government. When Germany and Austria jointly declared the independence of Poland on October 23 (November 5), 1916, the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph II instructed his chancellor to prepare a constitution for Galicia providing for the broadest possible autonomy. It was officially explained that the province was to become virtually as independent as the Polish kingdom newly restored under German protection. This arrangement dealt a deadly blow to the aspirations of the Ukrainians in Galicia, especially to those leaders who had remained loyal to Austria during the war and had hoped in this manner to disprove Polish accusations of treason and to be rewarded by freedom from Polish control. Local Ukrainian patriots had urged their followers to support Austria in her struggle against Russia, in the hope that a victory over Russian despotism would end in liberation for Ukraine. The Ukrainian emigrants from Russia who had come to live in Galicia after the unsuccessful Russian revolution of 1905 were of the same opinion and had organized in 1914 in Vienna a “Union for the Liberation of Ukraine” (*Soyuz Vizvolennia Ukrainy*) with the intention of creating a Ukrainian state out of the Ukrainian districts seized by the German armies; they planned to give courses in Ukrainian citizenship to all Ukrainian soldiers from the Russian army who were taken by Austria. To a certain point the Ukrainians of Galicia had followed their leadership, especially at the opening of the war. They had formed Ukrainian volunteer regiments, known as *Sichovi Striltsi*, somewhat on the order of the Polish legions, which undertook to take charge of organizing the conquered Ukrainian districts. A “General Ukrainian Council” (*Zahalna Ukrainska Rada*), organized in 1915, and the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine had presented to the Austrian government a demand that the Ukrainian districts conquered from Russia should be allowed to constitute a separate Ukrainian state, that the province of Kholm should not be given to the new Poland, and that a Ukrainian state should be created out of the Ukrainian districts of Galicia and Bukovina. Meeting with strong opposition from the Poles, who had great influence over the military authorities these demands had brought no results; but in spite of this disappointment the Ukrainian statesmen had attempted to encourage their people by assuring them that better arrangements would be made after the war, basing their hopes on the promises of the premier, Sturgkh, and the moderating influence of the German government over Austria. The new Austrian policy regarding Galicia opened the eyes of Ukrainian leaders, however, and they finally realized that Austria had again deceived them. Even the death of the old Austrian emperor and the accession of another did not promise any relief for the Ukrainians in Galicia, to whom only the Russian revolution of 1917 gave an indication of better days to come.”

– *A History of Ukraine* by Michael Hrushevsky (published in 1941), Chapter XXIV (Ukrainian Independence), p. 518-521

“The Russian coalition government had recognized Ukrainian autonomy because of the circumstances at the time and because it feared the antirevolutionary activity of General Kornilov, which had almost overthrown the government. **But as soon as the danger passed, the Kerensky government decided to withdraw Ukrainian autonomy, ignoring the Ukrainian administration and attempting to rule Ukraine without it. The Russian Provisional Government appointed high commissioners for Ukraine, refused to give the Ukrainian authorities material support, ignored their declarations and representatives, and ended by offering direct opposition to the work of the General Secretariat while the Russian senate, a relic of the old autocracy, desiring to stress the fact that it still existed, refused to publish the Instructions of the General Secretariat and thus deprived them of legal standing. At length Kerensky’s cabinet itself turned completely against the Ukrainian government.** It sought to utilize the coming Pan-Ukrainian Congress to indict the General Secretariat and the Central Rada. The Russian prosecutor at Kiev was instructed to investigate these two bodies and to take punitive measures against them. In the meantime the members of the General Secretariat were directed to appear at Petrograd to explain the purpose of the congress. This action on the part of the Russians aroused the Ukrainians whose opposition was given expression in the Third Legion Convention, which convened on October 20, and in the autumn session of the Central Rada. Unexpectedly, however, circumstances again underwent a change. The Provisional Government fell as the result of an uprising in Petrograd led by the Bolsheviks, who in turn organized a new administration by “People’s Commissars,” which neither the people nor the army were prepared to support. For a long time the Russian republic was in a state of anarchy, the provinces, including Finland and Ukraine, leading an independent life and resisting the Bolshevik propaganda which called for “all power to the soviets,” that is, to councils made up of representatives of labor, the army, and the peasants. The representatives of the Provisional Government present in Kiev accused the Central Rada of being in alliance with Bolshevism and took steps to destroy both alike, making use of Kozaks, Czech ex-prisoners of war, students of the military academies, and others; but they failed completely, for their intrigues were disclosed and the representatives of the old regime and their associates were forced out of Kiev and its vicinity. The Bolsheviks then decided to disrupt the Ukrainian government, which they accused of being bourgeois, and demanded the submission of the Central Rada. At the close of October the government was in a desperate situation, caught as it was between two hostile camps. In Kiev and the other larger cities civil war broke out and threatened to result in complete anarchy. Under these circumstances it was no easy task to create a single strong and authoritative organ of government in the country, although it was very necessary. Resolutions providing for such an authority were adopted by the Central Rada, but they were not enough. The only way to create it was to lay a strong foundation, since the General Secretariat could not remain suspended in air as the organ of a government which did not exist and which had no hope of being established. The General Secretariat itself had to become the government of the Ukrainian state, a plan which a Legion Convention supported in October and which was revolved in many debates at the meetings of the Central Rada. The Rada finally became convinced that the proclamation of the independence of a Ukrainian republic must be made without delay but that it must disclose the democratic and socialist character of the resurrected Ukrainian state. The cabinet established contacts with the representatives of the Social-Democrat and the Social-Revolutionary parties and with them prepared the Third Proclamation to the Ukrainian people, which was adopted by the Central Rada with reservations, and published on November 7 (20), 1917. The proclamation announced the formation of a new Ukrainian National Republic, placed a few limitations upon the private ownership of land, introduced the eight-hour day and control over the means of production, and aimed at bringing about a conclusion of the war, amnesty to political prisoners, the abolition of capital punishment, court and administrative reforms, and personal minority rights for the non-Ukrainian inhabitants of Ukraine. This was a splendid program, and the Central Rada and General Secretariat did their best to fulfill at least a part of it, the first step being to hold elections of representatives to a Pan-Ukrainian Congress, which was to build the state not on a revolutionary but on a constitutional basis. This was a difficult task, for throughout this period Ukraine was in a state of anarchy. The Bolshevik government, as soon as it had assured itself of its position in Russia, dispatched its armies, not to the front to fight against the Germans and Austrians, but to Ukraine to fight against the Ukrainian government, which was disarming all hostile forces and sending them out of the country. Because the Ukrainian government would not permit the passage of Bolshevik detachments across the country to the Don, but allowed the Don Kozaks to return home from the front through Ukraine, **the Bolshevik People’s Commissars, at the end of November, formally declared war on Ukraine. The Bolsheviks accused the Ukrainian government of counterrevolutionary activity, of an alliance with General Kaledin, the head of the Don Kozaks, and of cooperation with other reactionary factions, and accordingly delivered an ultimatum demanding permission from the Ukrainian government for their forces to march across the country, joint action against the Don Kozaks, and recognition of the soviet form of government – government by councils of soldiers, workers, and peasants – in Ukraine. Since acceptance of these demands would have destroyed all Ukrainian autonomy and placed the country in incompetent hands, the Ukrainian government refused to comply, whereupon the Bolsheviks proclaimed the Ukrainian Rada an assembly of reactionary capitalistic factions and swamped the country with Bolshevik agitators who spread all manner of lies about the Ukrainian authorities.** The Bolsheviks next attacked the government finances by preventing the sending of Russian money to Ukraine, thus forcing the Ukrainians to hasten the coinage of their own money. Finally the Bolsheviks collected Russian troops from the front and sent them into Ukraine to disband the Central Rada. Simultaneously a Bolshevik convention was called to meet in Kiev in the first days of December with the object of overthrowing the existing order, a stroke which the government warded off by calling a peasant convention for the same time and place. The peasant convention took a decided stand in support of the Central Rada. The eighth session of the Central Rada, convoked in the middle of December, revealed the resolute will of the people to defend the authority of the Rada and the sovereignty of independent Ukraine. The earlier plan of a federated Russia was now completely discarded. With the Russian empire in a state of anarchy, the subject peoples were all declaring their independence, partly because they could not form a federation apart from Russia, the largest potential member. Ukraine, too, was obliged to safeguard her political destiny, and in such a chaotic time the only safety lay in a strong and independent statehood.”

– *A History of Ukraine* by Michael Hrushevsky (published in 1941), p. 530-533

“Independent Ukraine: During the last half of December 1917, the position of Ukraine became even more critical. As Bolshevik agitation began to take effect, the army became disorganized, the soldiers at the front stole military supplies, deserted, and on their way home plundered everything in their path, while the villages were occupied by anarchist bands which gained the support of the weak and terrorized those opposed to them. The plundering and destruction of estates, warehouses, and factories became common, so that the wealth of the country was dissipated and its productive forces weakened. To the evils of economic depression were added those of political anarchy. A group of Bolsheviks who had failed in their attempt to hold the convention in Kiev called another meeting in Kharkiv, where, on December 13, 1917, they set up a Bolshevik government for Ukraine in opposition to the existing national government. Declaring that the Central Rada did not represent the will of the Ukrainian working people, the convention appealed to the masses to oppose it. These efforts would have had a musical-comedy ending, but unfortunately bands of Russian Bolsheviks made up of soldiers and sailors and vagabonds broke into Kharkiv on the pretense of fighting their way to the Don and remained there. Their coming further encouraged local groups already incited by propagandists, the local population was terrorized, and although the Ukrainian garrison held out for two days, it finally had to give in. After this, bands of Bolshevik soldiers and Red Guards, consisting of armed laborers and others in the service of the Bolsheviks, instead of going on to the Don to fight against the counterrevolutionists as they had said they would do, began to advance along the railroads into the heart of Ukraine, carrying their poisonous propaganda to the provinces of Poltava and Kherson. Events in Kharkiv repeated themselves in other cities; as soon as the Bolshevik bands arrived, various groups, mostly Jewish and Russian, caused insurrections in the cities and at stations along the railroads. Under the influence of their propaganda revolts broke out in the Ukrainian regiments newly organized or taken over by patriots; the soldiers were told that the struggle was against the capitalistic Central Rada and for the socialization of Ukraine. Many Ukrainian soldiers, or Kozaks as they were called, either joined the Bolsheviks, declared themselves neutral, or simply deserted their regiments and went home, as did a large number at Christmas. These Bolshevik successes caused even the Ukrainian leaders to waver as the Russian Bolsheviks propounded their system to the Ukrainian radicals, attempting to prove that Bolshevism was the logical development of the program of the socialists, who must adopt the Bolshevik slogans if they did not wish to be wiped out by Bolshevism. They further called for the election of a new Central Rada at a convention of soviets to consist of deputies of soldiers and workers, and the transference to the local soviets of all local authority. Bolshevik propaganda had already been widely spread since the eighth session of the Central Rada, at which the extreme Social Revolutionaries from Kharkiv were present. Revolutionary groups also went to Petrograd to explain to the Russian government the proposal for a Pan-Ukrainian congress, the Bolsheviks and extreme Social Revolutionaries hoping that if the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries gained control of the government they would bring to a close the Russo-Ukrainian war and put an end to anarchy in Ukraine. These events brought uncertainty into Ukrainian politics at a critical moment. At the end of December and early in January, eastern Ukraine, the Black Sea region, and such cities as Poltava, Katerinoslav, Odessa, and Kremenchuk were in the hands of the Bolsheviks, who prevented delivery of coal supplies to the Kievan region and advanced on Ukraine from south, east, and north. In Kiev itself there was continuous propaganda against the Ukrainian government and against the Ukrainians in general which almost completely demoralized the local Ukrainian regiments that not so long before had arrived eager to defend their country. The Ukrainian authorities realized the difficulty of their position, and the Central Rada hoped to transfer its authority to the new cabinet to be formed January 9, 1918, in accordance with a Fourth Proclamation. Yet because of the war with Bolshevism the elections, which were to have been held in December 1917, and decisions regarding all important issues had to be postponed.”

– *A History of Ukraine* by Michael Hrushevsky (published in 1941), p. 533-536

“In addition to the Ukrainian war with Bolshevism, Ukraine continued to hold the front against the Central Powers. From the beginning of the revolution the Ukrainian people in all their conventions had expressed a desire for an immediate termination of the war, into which they had been drawn against their will by tsarist Russia. Until Ukraine proclaimed her independence, however, she was unable to make an appearance in international politics as an independent political unit; and meanwhile the Russian government, both under Prince Lvov and under Kerensky, had not dared to make peace with the Central Powers, but had on the contrary attempted to assist the Allies by holding the eastern front. This effort to continue the war was a great mistake on its part, as it not only destroyed gains won by the revolution but also endangered Ukraine. As soon as the Bolsheviks had overthrown Kerensky’s government, they promised to bring the war to a close, and late in November opened negotiations with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk (Bereste). The Central Rada of the Ukrainian government, which since the time of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence had aimed at ending the war, decided to take part in this peace conference. The Allied Powers—first France and then England—which had hastened to recognize the Ukrainian National Republic attempted to persuade the Ukrainian government not to make peace with the Central Powers, promising Ukraine generous assistance if she would continue to fight against the Central Powers and threatening her with many ills if she signed a separate treaty. But the Ukrainian government had no military supplies with which to oppose the Central Powers, and furthermore the country was exposed to invasion by the Germans and the people were demanding peace. The Central Rada therefore sent a delegation to Brest-Litovsk, where it was to join the Soviet delegates in making a treaty of peace. When the Soviet delegates began to display their inconsistency, first declaring their readiness to sue for peace and then retreating into Bolshevik phraseology, the Central Rada authorized its delegates at Brest-Litovsk to make a separate peace with the Central Powers, regardless of what the Russians might do.”

– *A History of Ukraine* by Michael Hrushevsky (published in 1941), p. 536-537

“Amid the endless factional and party discussions that were held in the quarters of the Central Rada while Kiev was being besieged by the Bolsheviks, it was decided at length by a majority of the members to take a definite stand against Bolshevism. **On January 9 (22), 1918, the date set for opening the Ukrainian Constitutional Convention, the decision was taken to proclaim the independence of the Ukrainian republic, in order to gain a free hand in international and domestic affairs and to cut the ground from under Russian interference in the internal affairs of Ukraine and make it clear that the struggle with the Council of People’s Commissars and the Bolshevik hands was a war against Russia’s attempts to destroy Ukrainian independence and not a conflict of political ideas under cover of which real enemies could hide as neutrals.** In theory the Ukrainian groups still believed that federation was the best form of state life for the future, but **the anti-Ukrainian forces were preaching federation with Russia merely in order to keep the Russian empire intact and to have an opportunity to continue to oppress the non-Russians as they had done in the past. The supporters of federation were promoting, moreover, not only political federation but complete unity of economy and all other functions – the same old Russian policy which had always hampered Ukrainian progress.** The Russian Soviet government had dropped from its program the slogan of “self-determination of nationalities, even to complete independence,” and openly declared itself for a federation, desiring on this basis to unite the Ukrainian proletariat with the Russian. When the Allied Powers, especially the French, suspected that Ukraine might join Soviet Russia, they had threatened in case of separate peace with Germany to deprive her of the resources which they controlled within her borders. It was necessary, then, for Ukraine to define her policy to the foreign nations, and this was another reason for proclaiming the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. **In reality Ukraine had been an independent nation to some extent ever since the downfall of the Kerensky regime and more completely since the last session of the Central Rada. This independence had been recognized by the Central Powers and by the representatives of the Council of People’s Commissars at Brest-Litovsk on December 30 (January 12), 1917, but it required formal confirmation, which was provided by the Fourth Proclamation, decided upon on January 9. It proclaimed the Ukrainian Republic “an independent and sovereign power of the Ukrainian people, subject to no other authority.”** The General Secretariat was renamed a “Council of People’s Ministers,” and its first duties were stated to be the completion of the peace negotiations with the Central Powers, regardless of any objections on the part of any section of the former Russian empire, and decisive action toward defense and clearing Ukraine of Bolsheviks. The demobilization of the army was ordered, to be accompanied by reconstruction of the devastated areas, alteration of the factories and shops from a war to a peace basis, and various measures for satisfying the returning soldiers as to their political rights. A number of social reforms were ordered in the interests of the laboring population, in accordance with the general principles set forth by the Third Proclamation – by transfer of land to the workers, nationalization of the forests, waters, and mineral resources, the creation of work for the unemployed, the introduction of monopolies in commerce in goods most needed by the workers, and control over bank credit. The Proclamation was approved in its final form and published by the Central Rada on January 11 (24), 1918, although the date of January 9 (22) was retained. **There was some opposition in Ukraine, there being a few Ukrainians so enslaved to Russian culture and government and so convinced of the need of a united Russia or the traditional type of federation that they were dissatisfied by independence even as a method of transition to federation. This was even more true of the un-Ukrainian Ukrainians, who had torn themselves free from the Ukrainian soil and considered themselves “Russians,” of the Russians themselves, and particularly of the Jews, who failed to realize where the real interests of the Jewish population of Ukraine lay, but protested against being separated from the Jewish organizations of Russia. And this hostile attitude toward Ukraine, which had already made its appearance with such force in the commercial centers and especially in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev, following the declaration of Ukrainian independence culminated in an insurrection in Kiev at this critical moment in the struggle for Ukrainian freedom.”**

– *A History of Ukraine* by Michael Hrushevsky (published in 1941), p. 537-539

“The break-up of Austria Hungary also liberated from Hapsburg rule the half-million Ukrainians of Carpatho-Ukraine, who became incorporated by Czechoslovakia. Consent for this action was obtained by the Czechs from the American Ruska National Rada meeting in Scranton, Pennsylvania, on November 18, 1918. The Ukrainians in Carpatho-Ukraine, however, took a stand for union with Ukraine and published a proclamation to this effect at Rust on January 21, 1919; but on May 5 a National Rada of Carpatho-Ukraine declared itself in favor of incorporation into Czechoslovakia which became an accomplished fact in September by official action of the Czechoslovak government, Carpatho-Ukraine being annexed as an “autonomous unit within the Czechoslovak state.” *Poland*: By far the most serious Ukrainian problem aside from that of Soviet Ukraine was the question of the relationship of western Ukraine to Poland, involving a struggle between Poland and the Ukrainians in which the Supreme Council of the Allies became an intermediary but with little desire to act. As early as February 28, 1919, an Allied commission under General Berthelmy unsuccessfully made an effort to end the Polish-Ukrainian conflict by suggesting terms of peace; his efforts were resumed by an Inter-Allied Armistice Commission under the presidency of General Botha, which on May 13 drafted a Polish-Ukrainian demarcation line, rejected by the Poles, however. Soon after, General Haller arrived with a Polish army from France, armed and equipped by the Allies, supposedly for use against the Soviets, but actually employed for an offensive against the Ukrainians. On June 25 the Allied Supreme Council authorized the Poles to occupy eastern Galicia as far as the Zbruch River, but on condition that local autonomy and political and religious freedom be guaranteed the inhabitants. The Ukrainian Galician army then withdrew east of the Zbruch. In November further attempts at settlement were made by a proposal of the Supreme Council that Poland should exercise a mandate over eastern Galicia for a period of twenty-five years, at the end of which time a plebiscite should be held; but Poland flatly rejected this proposal. Shortly after, on December 8, the famous “Curzon Line” was proposed as the eastern boundary of Poland, which would have granted Poland a small Ukrainian area. Again the Poles refused to accede. Meanwhile the Polish authorities conducted mass arrests and trials of Ukrainian participants in the Polish-Ukrainian war, many persons being condemned to death and large numbers sent into concentration camps at Stshalkova, Wadowice, Brest-Litovsk, Dombie, and elsewhere. On January 20, 1920, Poland took a long step toward absorption by abolishing the autonomy of Ukrainian Galicia and the Ukrainian organizations which had existed under Austrian rule there. The very name was changed from Eastern Galicia to Eastern Little Poland. The boundary established on the Zbruch was broken by the Polish-Soviet war of the summer of 1920, being first overrun by the Poles and then by the Bolsheviks. In September and October it was finally fixed by direct negotiations at Riga between Poland, Soviet Russia, and Soviet Ukraine. For a time the Allies refused to recognize this decision regarding western Ukraine taken without their mediation, the Council of the League declaring on February 23, 1921, that “Galicia is beyond the borders of Poland” and that “actually Poland is the military occupant of Galicia,” but neither party to the agreement paid any attention. The only concession gained by the Ukrainians was a series of guarantees of minority rights similar to those given by Rumania to the Ukrainians annexed by her, and equally ineffective. The number of Ukrainians in Poland was subject to wide variations in estimate, depending upon the circumstances under which the count was made, being placed all the way from four to seven millions. Through 1921 and 1922 feeling among the Ukrainians under Polish rule ran high, the spearhead of resistance being the Ukrainian Military Organization (UWO). With the aid of funds sent by Ukrainian-Americans, a Ukrainian Citizens' Committee was founded in Lviv in 1921 to provide relief for Ukrainians in internment camps, but in the autumn it was dissolved and its members placed under arrest. On September 25 a Ukrainian student named Stephen Fedak attempted to assassinate Marshal Pilsudski and Governor Grabski, and soon afterward Poles bombed such Ukrainian institutions as the University Student Home and the headquarters of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. When a Polish census was taken in November it was boycotted by the Ukrainians, as were elections to the Polish chamber of deputies (Sejm) and the senate. Repressive measures of retaliation were taken by Poles in the form of terroristic acts. In the summer Metropolitan Andrew Sheptitsky, head of the Ukrainian Uniate Church, returned from a visit to the United States, was placed in confinement and held from August 22 to October 5. On November 15 the executive committee of the Ukrainian National Rada, headed by Dr. Eugene Petrushevich, protested to the Allied Supreme Council, the Council of the League of Nations, and the premiers of the Allied governments against mass arrests of Ukrainians by Polish authorities, and issued an appeal addressed to the conscience of the entire civilized world. The introduction of military conscription of Ukrainian inhabitants by the Polish government met with strong opposition. Finally, in order to obtain the consent of the Allies for the annexation of eastern Galicia, which was still not forthcoming, the Polish parliament passed a law on October 26, 1922, providing for limited autonomy for the provinces (*voivodates*) of Lviv, Ternopil, and Stanislaviv, a law which, however, was never really put into effect. The Ukrainian political parties, with headquarters in Lviv, refused to be mollified, and on August 28 unanimously declared their support of the government-in-exile of the Western Division of the Ukrainian National Republic, located in Vienna, under Dr. Petrushevich. It was not until March 14, 1923, that the Conference of Ambassadors representing Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan made further resistance impossible by recognizing the frontiers of Poland as drawn up in the treaty of Riga and refusing to accept a protest by a delegation from the Ukrainian National Rada of western Ukraine which had hastened to Paris to register objections. **Poland was thus confirmed in possession of the Ukrainian districts, not only of eastern Galicia but of all northwestern Ukraine, including Kholm, Polisia, and Volynia. About 35 per cent of Poland was composed of Ukrainian territory.** “Poland thus obtained title to this territory without having to give anything more than a moral pledge in favor of autonomy. No steps have been taken to carry out the unilateral promises made in the autonomy law of September, 1922, and Eastern Galicia is still governed from Warsaw,” wrote Raymond Leslie Buell in 1939. A great Ukrainian demonstration against the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors was held in St. George's Square in Lviv, Julian Romanchuk, the dean of Ukrainian leaders, administering to the assembly an oath that the Ukrainian people would never renounce their rights to the independence of their native land. After the Allies had given their approval to the Polish annexation, the position of Petrushevich and the government of western Ukraine became untenable in Vienna, and because of Polish diplomatic pressure, they moved first to Prague and then to Berlin, where they continued their activities chiefly in the form of petitions addressed to the League of Nations. Early in 1924 Petlura moved from Poland to France, where he made his home until his assassination on May 25, 1926, when his place as head of the Ukrainian National Republic in exile was taken by Andrew Levitsky. The Ukrainian Free University was transferred from Vienna to Prague.”

– *A History of Ukraine* by Michael Hrushevsky (published in 1941), p. 560-564

Council on Foreign Relations & Ukraine



President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich, (left) greets former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in Kiev, Ukraine on Monday, June 25, 2012. Henry Kissinger is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (AP Photo)



Former U.S. Secretary of state Henry Kissinger (left) talks with Viktor Yushchenko, Ukraine's opposition leader and top presidential candidate, during Kissinger's visit to Kiev, Ukraine on October 22, 2004. (Anatoliy Medzyk/AFP/Getty Images)



James Wolfensohn, former President of the World Bank, attends a presentation hosted by the Kyiv School of Economics in Kyiv [Kiev], Ukraine on October 8, 2007. James Wolfensohn is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a member of the Bilderberg Group. (Photo: <http://pinchukfund.org/en/projects/103/photo/49/>)



Victor Yushchenko (left), President of Ukraine, meets with James Wolfensohn, Senior Advisor to Citigroup and former president of the World Bank, on February 7, 2006. Victor Yushchenko served as the President of Ukraine from January 23, 2005 until February 25, 2010, Prime Minister of Ukraine from December 22, 1999 until May 29, 2001, and Governor of the National Bank of Ukraine from 1993 until 1999. (Photo: <http://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/2347.html>)



Arseniy Yatsenyuk (left) appears with American Jewish financier George Soros (2nd left) and American Jewish journalist Thomas L. Friedman (right), columnist of *The New York Times*, in 2009. George Soros and Thomas L. Friedman are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: <http://old.pinchukfund.org/en/media/photo-gallery/2009/987.html>)



Ukrainian politician Arseniy Yatsenyuk (left) appears with American Jewish financier George Soros in 2009. George Soros is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City and a member of the Bilderberg Group, a private European organization. (Photo: <http://old.pinchukfund.org/en/media/photo-gallery/2009/987.html>)



Former National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski (right) and former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright (center) visit President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko (left) in December 2005. (Photo: http://blog.kievukraine.info/2005_12_01_archive.html)



United States Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (left) greets Foreign Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk (right) on September 23, 2007. Condoleezza Rice is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: U.S. Department of State)



Deputy U.S. Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz (right) escorts Prime Minister of Ukraine Victor Yanukovich (left) through an honor cordon and into the Pentagon on October 9, 2003. Wolfowitz and Yanukovich met to discuss a range of national and international security issues. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense/R.D. Ward)



President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko speaks at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City on September 21, 2009. (Reuters)



Victor Yushchenko greets Fred Bergsten, Director of Peterson Institute for International Economics, at the 4th Davos Ukrainian Lunch in Davos, Switzerland on January 25, 2008. Fred Bergsten is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.
(Photo: http://pinchukfund.org/en/photo_and_video/photogallery/60/)



Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko (left) greets U.S. Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist in Kiev, Ukraine on April 13, 2006. The U.S. congressional delegation visited Ukraine as part of their trip to several ex-Soviet states aimed at improving bilateral relations. (© Mykola Lazarenko/Pool/Reuters/Corbis)

European Union, Ukraine & Russia



The 2005 Chatham House Prize was awarded to President Victor Yushchenko in recognition of his contribution to the improvement of international relations and the considerable courage and skill he demonstrated in steering a peaceful process of political change in Ukraine. HM The Queen, accompanied by HRH The Duke of Edinburgh, presented the award to the Ukrainian president at a ceremony at the Mansion House on Monday, October 17, 2005. Cherie Booth QC was the keynote speaker at a gala dinner that followed on from the award.

(Source: <http://www.chathamhouse.org/events/chatham-house-prize/2005>)



Left to right: Lord Robertson of Port Ellen; Lady Mayoress, Corporation of London; Cherie Booth QC; HRH The Duke of Edinburgh; President Victor Yushchenko; HM The Queen; Professor Victor Bulmer-Thomas, Director, Chatham House; Lord Mayor, Corporation of London; Mrs Kateryna Yushchenko; Baroness Williams of Crosby; Malcolm Brinded, Executive Director of Exploration and Production, Royal Dutch Shell; Dr DeAnne Julius, Chairman, Chatham House

(Source: <http://www.chathamhouse.org/events/chatham-house-prize/2005>)



Foreign Minister of Sweden Carl Bildt (left) and Foreign Minister of Poland Radek Sikorski (center) meet with President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich (right) in Kiev, Ukraine in November 2010. Carl Bildt is a member of the Bilderberg Group and the Trilateral Commission. **Carl Bildt attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held in Hertfordshire, England near London from June 6-9, 2013.** (Photo: PAP/Pawel Kula; Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych)



Bilderberg Meetings participant Foreign Minister of Sweden Carl Bildt (right) appears with Foreign Minister of Russia Sergei Lavrov at a press conference in Brussels, Belgium in 2009.



European Union Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso (right), European Union Council President Herman Van Rompuy (left) and President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich (center) pose prior to an European Union-Ukraine summit held at the Val Duchesse Castle in Brussels, Belgium on November 22, 2010. Ukraine will need to meet European Union reform demands if its citizens are to travel Europe without visa requirements. (Thierry Charlier/AFP/Getty Images)



Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko appears with U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on July 2, 2010 (left photo) and U.S. Senator Barack Obama (right photo).



Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel greets former Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko at a European People's Party summit in Brussels, Belgium on March 24, 2011. The General Prosecutor of Ukraine's Office lifted the travel ban imposed on Tymoshenko after she was officially invited to this event by U.S. Senator John McCain and European People's Party President Wilfried Martens. Standing beside Yulia Tymoshenko is President of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili. **Angela Merkel attended the 2005 Bilderberg Meetings held in Rottach-Egern, Germany in May 2005.**

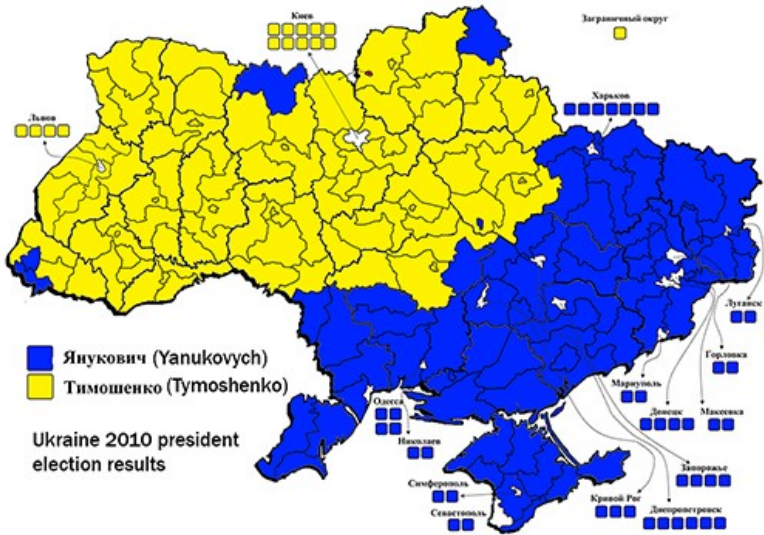
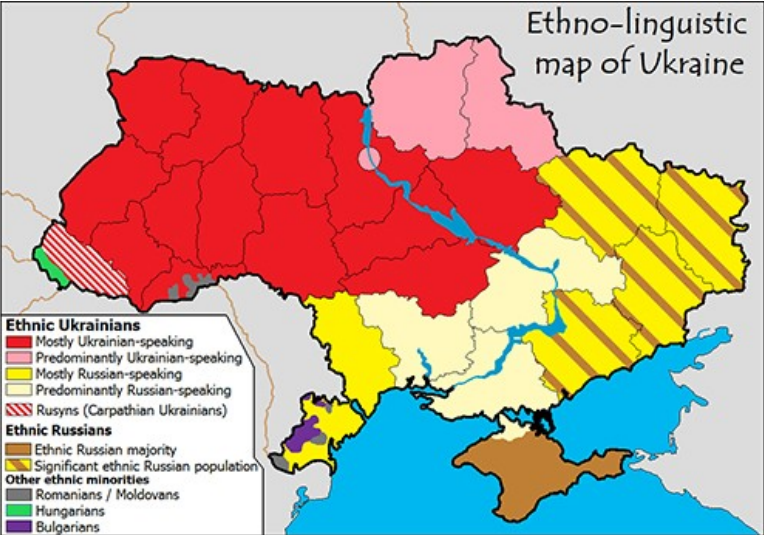


Prime Minister of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) chats with Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko during their meeting in Chishinau, Moldova on Friday, November 14, 2008. The meeting of prime ministers of CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) opened in Chishinau on Friday. (AP Photo/RIA-Novosti, Alexei Nikolsky, Pool)



United States President Barack Obama (2nd right) talks with President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich during a break at the Nuclear Security Summit at the Coex Center in Seoul, Republic of Korea on March 27, 2012.

(Official White House Photo by Pete Souza)



Election results and Linguistic map of Ukraine



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (right) shakes hands with Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu during their meeting at the Bocharov Ruchei residence in the Black Sea resort of Sochi, Russia on Tuesday, May 14, 2013. Putin hosted Netanyahu for talks focusing on the civil war in Syria, amid concerns that Moscow could soon provide the Syrian government with advanced missiles. Israel celebrated its 65th year of independence on May 14, 2013. (AP Photo/ Maxim Shipenkov)



President of Iran Hassan Rouhani (left) meets with President of Russia Vladimir Putin on September 13, 2013 (Russian Presidential Press and Information Office)



Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki (left) meets with Russian President Vladimir Putin in Moscow, Russia on Wednesday, October 10, 2012 to discuss an arms deal between Iraq and Russia. (Official Iraqi government photo)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (right) shakes hands with Prime Minister of Turkey Tayyip Erdogan in Strelna near St. Petersburg, Russia on November 22, 2013. (Photo: Reuters)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin greets President of Syria Bashar Assad at the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia on December 19, 2006. (Photo: <https://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel/0,1518,grossbild-650231-422911,00.html>)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (right) greets President of Israel Shimon Peres in Netanya, Israel on June 25, 2012.
(Photo: Israel Government Press Office (GPO))



From Russia With Love: President Barack Obama meets with Mikhail Gorbachev (center), former leader of the Soviet Union, in Gostinny Dvor, Russia on Tuesday, July 7, 2009. ([Official White House Photo by Pete Souza](#))



From Kremlin With Love? President Barack Obama (left) meets with Prime Minister of Russia Vladimir Putin in Moscow, Russia on July 7, 2009. (Reuters)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) laughs with Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel (right) as they open Hanover Fair in Hannover, Germany on Monday, April 8, 2013. (Reuters)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) laughs with Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel (right) as they open Hanover Fair in Hannover, Germany on Monday, April 8, 2013.



Barack Obama (left), President of the United States, meets with President of Russia Vladimir Putin (right) during a bilateral at the G8 Summit in Lough Erne, Northern Ireland on June 17, 2013. ([Official White House Photo by Pete Souza](#))



European Union President Herman Van Rompuy (center) and European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso (right) welcome President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich (left) ahead of a European Union-Ukraine Summit in Brussels, Belgium on February 25, 2013. AFP



Hillary Clinton, former United States Secretary of State, answers questions from an audience at Chatham House in London, England on October 11, 2013. Chatham House is the headquarters of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. (Photo by Peter Macdiarmid/[Getty Images](#))



President of Russia Dmitry Medvedev (left) greets Henry Kissinger in Moscow, Russia on June 17, 2008. ([Reuters](#))



Russia maintains its Black Sea Fleet and a large naval base at Sevastopol, Ukraine. The Russian lease of its naval base at Sevastopol expires in 2017. The Crimean port city of Sevastopol, Ukraine, located on the Black Sea, is populated predominantly by Russians.



A map of the Black Sea and Aegean Sea



President of Russia Vladimir Putin shoots a gun in the new headquarters of the Main Intelligence Agency (GRU) of the Russian Armed Forces General Staff in Moscow, Russia on November 8, 2006. (Photo: © Astakhov Dmitri/ITAR-TASS/Corbis)



“Say Hello To My Little Friend!”



“Say Hello To My Little Friend!”



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) greets U.S. Secretary of State [Hillary Clinton](#) ahead of the APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in Vladivostok, Russia on September 8, 2012. (Photo: Xinhua/Rao Aimin)

The Maidan Revolution & Russian Invasion of Crimea: Hegelian Dialectic in Action?



The Ukrainian people protest in the Maidan in downtown Kiev, Ukraine in late 2013. (Andrew Kravchenko/epa)



Ukrainian protestors in Kiev, Ukraine demand the release of former Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko from prison. (AP Photo)

Excerpts from Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* (1821)



Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel

“**The state**, which is the realized substantive will, having its reality in the particular self-consciousness raised to the plane of the universal, is absolutely rational. This substantive unity is its own motive and absolute end. In this end freedom attains its highest right. **This end has the highest right over the individual, whose highest duty in turn is to be a member of the state.**”

– G.W.F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, Paragraph 258

“Were the state to be considered as exchangeable with the civic society, and were its decisive features to be regarded as the security and protection of property and personal freedom, the interest of the individual as such would be the ultimate purpose of the social union. It would then be at one's option to be a member of the state.—But the state has a totally different relation to the individual. It is the objective spirit, and he has his truth, real existence, and ethical status only in being a member of it. Union, as such, is itself the true content and end, since the individual is intended to pass a universal life. His particular satisfactions, activities, and way of life have in this authenticated substantive principle their origin and result... The idea of the state is not concerned with the historical origin of either the state in general or of any particular state with its special rights and characters. Hence, it is indifferent whether the state arose out of the patriarchal condition, out of fear or confidence, or out of the corporation. It does not care whether the basis of state rights is declared to be in the divine, or in positive right, or contract, or custom. When we are dealing simply with the science of the state, these things are mere appearances, and belong to history. The causes or grounds of the authority of an actual state, in so far as they are required at all, must be derived from the forms of right, which have validity in the state.” – G.W.F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, Paragraph 258

“The state as a completed reality is the ethical whole and the actualization of freedom. It is the absolute purpose of reason that freedom should be actualized. The state is the spirit, which abides in the and there realizes itself consciously; while in nature it is realized only as the other of itself or the sleeping spirit. Only when it is present in consciousness, knowing itself as an existing object, is it the state. In thinking of freedom we must not take our departure from individuality or the individual's self-consciousness, but from the essence of self-consciousness. Let man be aware of it or not, this essence realizes itself as an independent power, in which particular persons are only phases. **The state is the march of God in the world; its ground or cause is the power of reason realizing itself as will.** When thinking of the idea of the state, we must not have in our mind any particular state, or particular institution, but must rather contemplate the idea, this actual God, by itself. Although a state may be declared to violate right principles and to be defective in various ways, it always contains the essential moments of its existence, if, that is to say, it belongs to the full formed states of our own time. But as it is more easy to detect short-comings than to grasp the positive meaning, one easily falls into the mistake of dwelling so much upon special aspects of the state as to overlook its inner organic being. The state is not a work of art. It is in the world, in the sphere of caprice, accident, and error. Evil behavior can doubtless disfigure it in many ways, but the ugliest man, the criminal, the invalid, the cripple, are living men. The positive thing, the life, is present in spite of defects, and it is with this affirmative that we have here to deal.”

– G.W.F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, Paragraph 258

“These kingdoms are based upon the distinction, which has now won the form of absolute antagonism, and yet at the same time are rooted in a single unity and idea. In the obdurate struggle, which thus ensues, the spiritual has to lower its heaven to the level of an earthly and temporal condition, to common worldliness, and to ordinary life and thought. On the other hand the abstract actuality of the worldly is exalted to thought, to the principle of rational being and knowing, and to the rationality of right and law. As a result of these two tendencies, the contradiction has become a marrowless phantasm. The present has stripped off its barbarism and its lawless caprice, and truth has stripped off its beyond and its casualness. The true atonement and reconciliation has become objective, and unfolds **the state** as the image and reality of reason. In **the state**, self-consciousness finds the organic development of its real substantive knowing and will, in religion it finds in the form of ideal essence the feeling and the vision of this its truth, and in science it finds the free conceived knowledge of this truth, seeing it to be one and the same in all its mutually completing manifestations, namely, the state, nature, and the ideal world.”

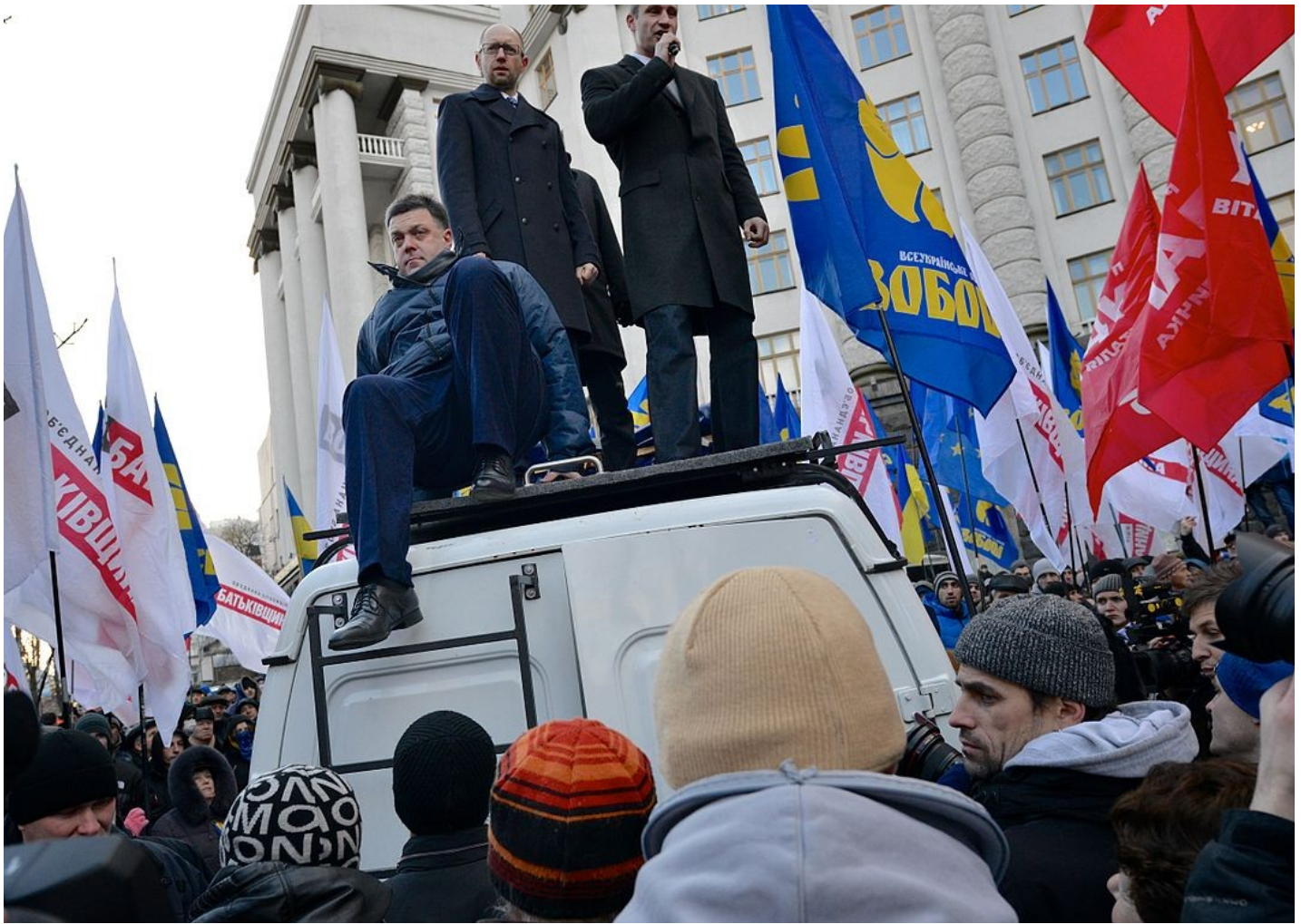
– G.W.F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, Paragraph 360



Ukrainian students hold a giant European Union flag during a protest rally in Lviv, Ukraine on November 22, 2013. Jailed Ukrainian opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko urged supporters to take to the streets on November 22 in protest at the government's scrapping of a plan to sign an Association Agreement with the European Union.
(AFP Photo/ YURIY DYACHYSHYN)



Demonstrators march and carry a European Union (EU) flag during a protest in Kyiv, Ukraine on November 24, 2013.



A protest is conducted by the Cabinet of Ministers in Kiev, Ukraine on November 27, 2013. Atop the vehicle are Ukrainian opposition leaders Oleh Tyahnybok (left), Arseniy Yatsenyuk (center), and Vitali Klychko (right, holding a microphone).



Protesters and riot police clash in front of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine during a rally in Kiev on November 24, 2013. (RIA Novosti / Alexei Furman)



A Ukrainian patriot attacks the statue of Russian Jewish Communist terrorist Vladimir Lenin with a sledgehammer in Kiev, Ukraine on Sunday, December 8, 2013. Ukrainians were protesting President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich's proposals for closer ties with the Russian government and his decision to delay signing the European Union Association Agreement. The government of Ukraine decided to postpone the signing the European Union Association Agreement on November 21, 2013. Protests began on November 21, 2013. The signing of the European Union Association Agreement would have allowed Ukraine to become integrated with European Union economically and reduce trade barriers between Ukraine and European Union. (Photo: Sergei Chuzavkov/AP)



Riot Police in Kiev, Ukraine attempt to disperse protesters at the Maidan on the night of December 10, 2013.



A group of Berkut [Gestapo] officers brutally assault Ukrainian citizens in Kiev, Ukraine during the Maidan crisis.



A Berkut [Gestapo] officer hurls a Molotov cocktail towards Ukrainian patriots in Kiev, Ukraine during the Maidan crisis.



A group of Berkut [Gestapo] officers attempt to desecrate the Ukrainian flag during the Maidan crisis in Kiev, Ukraine.



Ilya Varlamov | zvalivejournal.com

Berkut [Gestapo] officers attempt to terrorize the Ukrainian people at night during the Maidan crisis in Kiev, Ukraine.



Ukrainian protestors and patriots throw car tires and rocks at the despised Berkut [Gestapo] officer in Kiev, Ukraine during the Maidan crisis (a Ukrainian protest against the Yanukovych regime).



A Ukrainian patriot armed with a revolver takes aim at the dreaded Berkut [Gestapo] officers as more tires burn behind him.



A Berkut [Gestapo] officer brandishes shotgun out from behind a barricade while a Russian Orthodox priest pleads with protesters. (Photo: <http://samnewscenter.blogspot.com/>)



Ukrainian patriots salute to the Ukrainian flag during a lull in the ongoing protests in Kiev, Ukraine.



Activists of the Svoboda (Freedom) Ukrainian nationalist party shout slogans as they take part in a rally marking the 71st anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which fought both Nazi and Soviet forces in World War Two, and the feast of the Protecting Veil of the Mother of God in central Kiev, Ukraine on October 14, 2013. The portrait seen in the background is of UPA leader Stepan Bandera. (REUTERS/Gleb Garanich)



Oleh Tyahnybok, leader of the of nationalist Svoboda (Freedom) Party speaks to the media during his press conference in Kiev, Ukraine on Monday, October 29, 2012. President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich's party headed toward victory in parliamentary elections but its grip on power appeared to be weakened, with the far-right Svoboda (Freedom) party taking 8 percent of the popular vote. (AP Photo/Sergei Chuzavkov)



A group of Ukrainian protesters wear yellow Svoboda Party “swastika” armbands during a protest against President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich.



A Svoboda Party protestor displays the Svoboda Party salute.



Assistant U.S. Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs Victoria Nuland (left) walks with U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Geoffrey Pyatt (right, wearing glasses) walks through Independence Square in Kiev, Ukraine, on December 10, 2013. (Reuters)



Assistant U.S. Secretary of State Victoria Nuland (wearing a blue jacket) distributes cakes to protesters on the Independence Square in Kiev, Ukraine on December 11, 2013. Geoffrey Pyatt, the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, is seen standing behind Victoria Nuland.



Assistant U.S. Secretary of State Victoria Nuland greets former Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko, who was released from prison after spending nearly four years in prison on corruption charges.



Assistant U.S. Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs Victoria Nuland (2nd right, wearing a blue jacket) offered food to pro-European Union activists as she and U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Geoffrey Pyatt (right) walked through Independence Square in Kiev, Ukraine, on Wednesday, December 11, 2013. Nuland also offered food to some of the police nearby. Victoria Nuland is the wife of American Jewish journalist Robert Kagan. Robert Kagan is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: Andrew Kravchenko/AP)

“I made it absolutely clear to him that what happened last night, what has been happening in security terms here, is absolutely impermissible in a European state, in a democratic state...we also made clear that we believe there is a way out for Ukraine, that it is still possible to save Ukraine's European future and that is what we want to see the president lead. But that is going to require immediate security steps and getting back into a conversation with Europe and with the International Monetary Fund, and bringing justice and dignity to the people of Ukraine. I have no doubt after our meeting that President Yanukovich knows what he needs to do. The whole world is watching. We want to see a better future for Ukraine.”

– Victoria Nuland, Assistant U.S. Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, on December 11, 2013

Source: <http://www.npr.org/blogs/thetwo-way/2013/12/11/250215712/world-is-watching-u-s-diplomat-tells-ukraine>



Assistant U.S. Secretary of State Victoria Nuland (2nd left) greets Ukrainian opposition leaders Arseniy Yatsenyuk (right), Oleh Tyahnybok (left), and Vitali Klychko (2nd right) in Kiev, Ukraine.



Ukrainian opposition leaders Arseniy Yatsenyuk (center), Oleh Tyahnybok (left), and Vitali Klychko (right) celebrate during a rally.



United States Senator John McCain (right) meets with Ukrainian opposition leaders Arseniy Yatsenyuk (left, wearing a blue shirt) and Oleh Tyahnybok (center) in Kiev, Ukraine on December 14, 2013. John McCain is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Ukrainian opposition leader Oleh Tyahnybok of the Svoboda party renders a Nazi salute.



United States Senator John McCain (center) appears with Ukrainian opposition leader Vitali Klychko (left) in Kiev, Ukraine on December 14, 2013.



United States Senator John McCain (right) appears with Ukrainian opposition leaders Arseniy Yatsenyuk (left) and Oleh Tyahnybok (2nd left) for dinner in Kiev, Ukraine on December 14, 2013.



United States Senator John McCain (center) appears with Ukrainian opposition leader Oleh Tyahnybok (right) in Kiev, Ukraine on December 14, 2013.



United States Senator John McCain (center) appears with Ukrainian opposition leader Oleh Tyahnybok (right) in Kiev, Ukraine on December 14, 2013.



European Union High Representative Catherine Ashton (2nd right) appears with Ukrainian opposition leaders Arseniy Yatsenyuk (left), Vitali Klychko (2nd left), and Oleh Tyahnybok (far right).



President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich (second left) meets with opposition leaders Oleh Tyanybok (right), Vitali Klitschko (second right), and Arseniy Yatsenyuk (third right) in Kiev, Ukraine on January 23, 2014. (AP Photo)



A group of Orthodox bishops attempt to keep the peace during the violent protests in downtown Kiev, Ukraine.



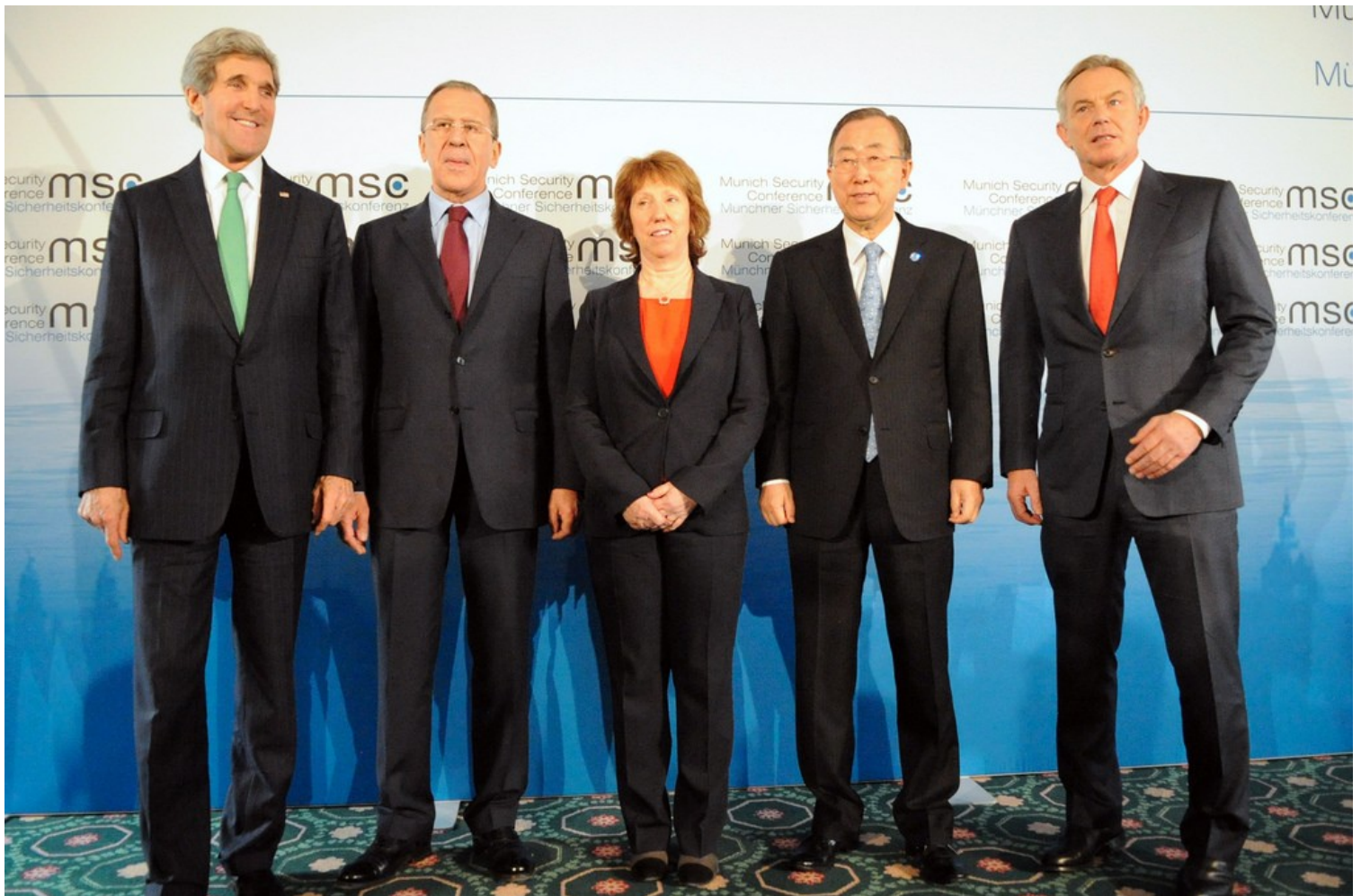
President of Russia Vladimir Putin (center) meets with European Council President Herman Van Rompuy (left) and European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso (right) at the EU-Russia summit in Brussels, Belgium on Tuesday, January 28, 2014. **Jose Manuel Barroso attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held at Hertfordshire, England near London from 6-9 June 2013.** (Photo: Francois Lenoir/Reuters)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) welcomes Communist China's President Xi Jinping during their meeting in Sochi, Russia on February 6, 2014. (AFP Photo/RIA-Novosti/Pool/Alexei Nikolsky)



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry speaks with Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov before a meeting with United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon on the sidelines of the Munich Security Conference in Germany on January 31, 2014. (State Department photo)



Members of the Quartet on the Middle East, from left to right, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, European Union High Representative Catherine Ashton, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, and Special Envoy Tony Blair pose for photographers before a meeting on the sidelines of the Munich Security Conference in Munich, Germany, on February 1, 2014. (State Department photo / Public Domain)



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry shakes hands with Vitali Klychko of the UDAR Party before a meeting with Ukrainian opposition leaders on the sidelines of the Munich Security Conference in Munich, Germany, on February 1, 2014. [State Department photo / Public Domain]



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry poses with Vitali Klychko of the UDAR Party, Petro Poroshenko of the Euromaidan Movement, and Arseniy Yatsenyuk of the Fatherland Party before a meeting with the Ukrainian opposition leaders on the sidelines of the Munich Security Conference in Munich, Germany, on February 1, 2014. (State Department photo/Public Domain)



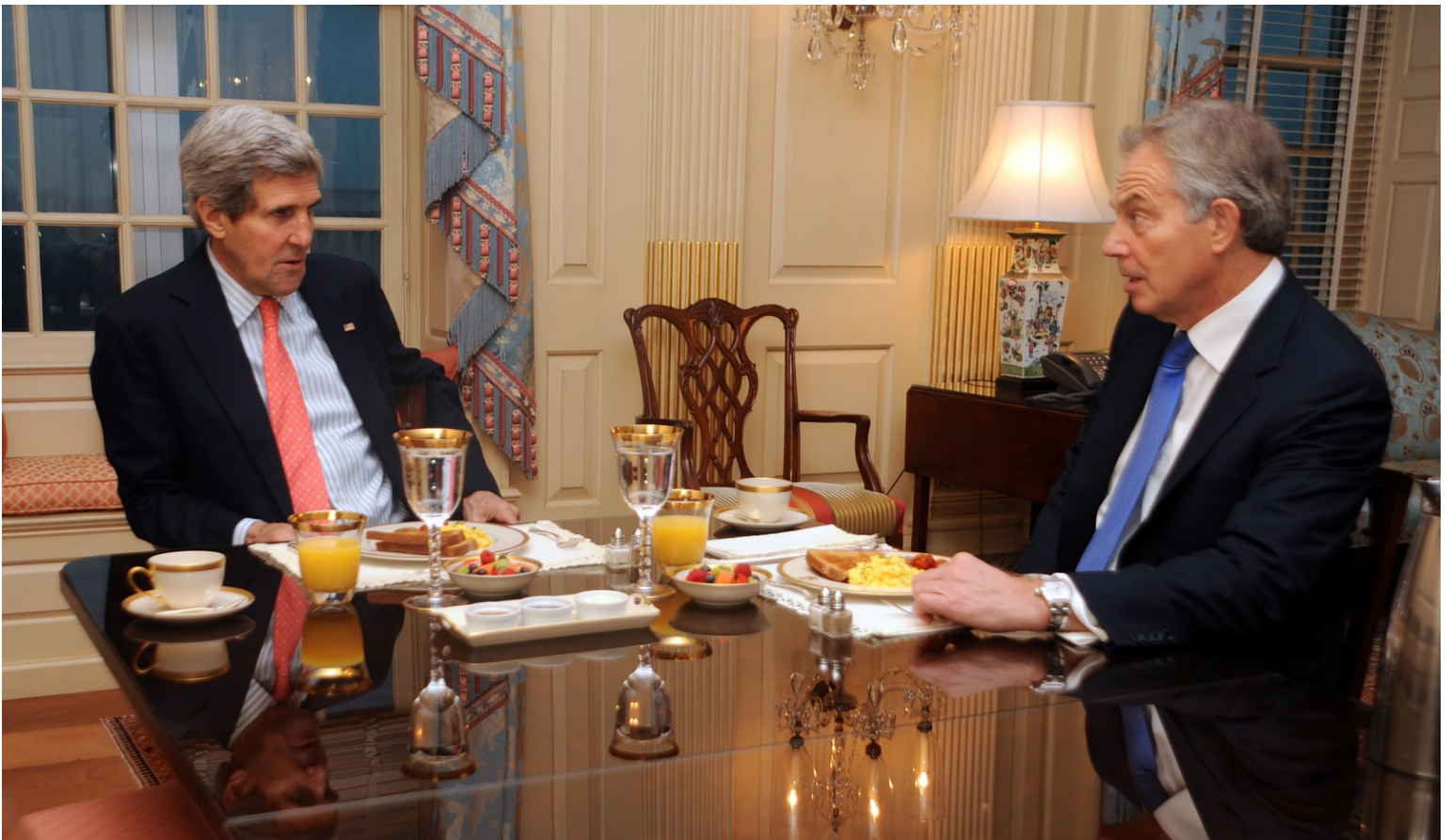
U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and his team sit across from Petro Poroshenko of the Euromaidan Movement, Vitali Klychko of the UDAR Party, and Arseniy Yatsenyuk of the Fatherland Party at the outset of a meeting with the Ukrainian opposition leaders on the sidelines of the Munich Security Conference in Munich, Germany, on February 1, 2014. (State Department photo / Public Domain)



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs Victoria Nuland meet with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Leonid Kozhara on the margins of the Munich Security Conference in Munich, Germany, on February 1, 2014. (State Department Photo / Public Domain)



Janet Yellen (left), Chairman of the Federal Reserve, meets with Jack Lew (right), Secretary of the Treasury, in Washington, D.C. on February 5, 2014. Janet Yellen and Jack Lew are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: [U.S. Department of the Treasury](http://www.treasury.gov))



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and former British Prime Minister and Quartet Representative Tony Blair discuss Middle East peace efforts and other topics during a breakfast meeting in Washington, D.C., on February 5, 2014. (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry shakes hands with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger during a State Lunch for French President Francois Hollande that Secretary Kerry co-hosted with Vice President Joe Biden at the U.S. Department of State in Washington, D.C., on February 11, 2014. **John Kerry and Henry Kissinger are members of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private political organization in New York City.** (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



Pro-Russian President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich (left) shakes hands with Victoria Nuland, Assistant U.S. Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, in Kiev, Ukraine on February 6, 2014. Victoria Nuland and Geoffrey Pyatt, the current U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, assuming that their telephone conversation about the Ukraine political crisis was secure and private, were caught disparaging the European Union in a phone call that was apparently bugged, and U.S. officials say they strongly suspect Russia of leaking the conversation. During the telephone conversation, Victoria Nuland allegedly said, "Fuck the EU." (AP Photo/Mykhailo Markiv, Pool)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (right) shakes hands with President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich in Sochi, Russia on February 7, 2014. Viktor Yanukovich abdicated on February 22, 2014 and fled to Russia. Viktor Yanukovich reportedly suffered a heart attack in early March 2014. (AFP Photo/Alexei Nikolsky)

Ukraine settling Gazprom debt 'gradually,' energy minister says

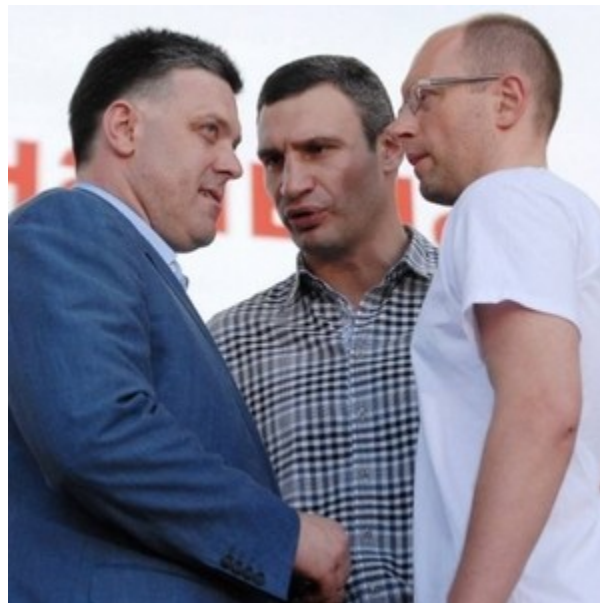
February 3, 2014

KIEV, Ukraine, Feb. 3 (UPI) -- Ukrainian Energy Minister Eduard Stavitsky said his country is working steadily to resolve its cash debt to Russian energy company Gazprom. "We are paying money gradually now," he was quoted as saying Saturday by ITAR-Tass. Stavitsky didn't indicate how much was paid toward the debt or how much debt was incurred. European consumers get about 20 percent of their natural gas needs from Russia, most of the gas running through a Soviet-era gas transmission network in Ukraine. Gazprom cut gas supplies to Ukraine briefly in 2009 over debt issues. Ukraine, a former Soviet republic, has struggled with paying its gas debts to Gazprom. In December, Russian President Vladimir Putin said Ukrainian energy company Naftogaz can pay \$268.5 per 1,000 cubic meters of natural gas, the standard purchase volume, instead of the regular rate of \$400. Putin said the decision was only a temporary measure meant to ensure consumers in Europe have a secure supply of natural gas. The decision followed Ukraine's move to suspend free-trade talks with the European Union, saying it needed to protect its economic ties to Russia.

Source: © [2014 United Press International, Inc.](#)



Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel (center) welcomes Ukrainian opposition leaders Vitali Klitschko (left) and Arseniy Yatsenyuk (right) at the Chancellery in Berlin, Germany on February 17, 2014. The Ukrainian opposition leaders were in Berlin to discuss the country's crisis as Ukraine was in chaos since November when President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovych abandoned a planned European Union trade and political pact in favor of closer ties with Vladimir Putin's regime in Russia. (Getty Images)



Ukrainian opposition leaders Oleh Tyanybok (left), Vitali Klitschko (center), and Arseniy Yatsenyuk (right) meet in Kiev, Ukraine to discuss the future of Ukraine.



Arseniy Yatsenyuk addresses antigovernment protesters during a rally in Kyiv [Kiev], Ukraine on February 18, 2014. (Reuters)



Ukrainian citizens protest in the streets of Kiev, Ukraine during the Maidan crisis. Police violence and police brutality in Kiev, Ukraine led to the removal of President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich on February 22, 2014.



Labor Unions' House is set on fire in the Euromaidan in Kiev, Ukraine on February 19, 2014. The building, which was used as protesters' headquarters, was reportedly set afire by policemen.



A chart showing the political turmoil in Ukraine on February 19, 2014



President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich (2nd right) and Ukrainian opposition leaders Vitali Klitschko (left), Oleh Tyanybok (2nd left), and Arseniy Yatsenyuk (right) attend a signing ceremony of the truce agreement in Kiev, Ukraine on Friday, February 21, 2014. Ukrainian opposition leaders signed a political agreement with the President of Ukraine and European mediators for early elections and a new government in an attempt to end the political crisis in Ukraine. Russian government officials in Moscow immediately criticized the deal. (AP Photo/Andrei Mosienko, Presidential Press Service, Pool)



From left to right: Foreign Minister of Germany Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Ukrainian opposition leaders Vitali Klitschko and Oleg Tyagnibok, President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich, opposition leader Arseny Yatsenyuk and Foreign Minister of Poland Radoslaw Sikorski attend a signing ceremony of an agreement between the government and the opposition in Kiev, Ukraine on February 21, 2014. (AP Photo/Andrei Mosienko)



President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich (right) and opposition leader Vitali Klitschko (left) shake hands after signing an “agreement” in the Presidential Palace in Kiev, Ukraine on **February 21, 2014**. Viktor Yanukovich abdicated on **February 22, 2014** and fled to Russia. (Tim Brakemeier/EPA)



Foreign Minister of Germany Frank-Walter Steinmeier (left), who signed a truce agreement, shakes hands with Ukrainian opposition leader Vitali Klitschko inside the Presidential Palace in Kiev, Ukraine on February 21, 2014. ((Tim Brakemeier/EPA)



Ukrainian opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko, the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, prepares to address anti-government protesters in the Independence Square in Kiev, Ukraine on Saturday, February 22, 2014, just hours after she was released from prison. Ukrainian opposition leader Arseniy Yatsenyuk is seen standing behind Yulia Tymoshenko. The Ukrainian National Parliament voted overwhelmingly to release Yulia Tymoshenko from prison on February 21, 2014. Yulia Tymoshenko was released from prison shortly after President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich abdicated.

The Ukrainian court declared Yulia Tymoshenko guilty of abuse of power on October 11, 2011 and sentenced her to seven years in prison. Yulia Tymoshenko was accused of bribery, tax evasion, and abuse of power after Viktor Yanukovich was inaugurated President of Ukraine in February 2010. Yulia Tymoshenko served as Prime Minister of Ukraine on two occasions (January 24, 2005– September 8, 2005; December 18, 2007–March 4, 2010). Yulia Tymoshenko was a presidential candidate in the 2010 presidential election and lost the presidential election by a narrow margin to Viktor Yanukovich. **Viktor Yanukovich abdicated on February 22, 2014 and fled to Russia.** (Reuters)



Deputy Secretary of State Bill Burns meets with members of civil society in Kyiv [Kiev], Ukraine, on February 25, 2014. (U.S. State Department photo/Public Domain)



Deputy U.S. Secretary of State Bill Burns meets with Maidan Medical Service, AutoMaidan, Hromadsky Sector and religious leaders at St. Michael's Cathedral in Kyiv, Ukraine, on February 25, 2014. (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



Deputy U.S. Secretary of State Bill Burns meets with Arseniy Yatsenyuk of the Verkhovna Rada in Kyiv, Ukraine, on February 25, 2014. **Arseniy Yatsenyuk was appointed the Prime Minister of Ukraine on February 27, 2014.** (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



Deputy U.S. Secretary of State William J. "Bill" Burns (2nd left) meets with key political leaders in Kyiv, Ukraine, on February 25, 2014. **William J. "Bill" Burns is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; William J. "Bill" Burns served as the U.S. Ambassador to Russia from November 8, 2005 until May 12, 2008.** (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



Prime Minister of Georgia Irakli Garibashvili (left) and United States Secretary of State John Kerry deliver remarks at the U.S.-Georgia Strategic Partnership Commission Plenary Session at the U.S. Department of State in Washington, D.C., on February 26, 2014. (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



Former Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko shook hands with Deputy U.S. Secretary of State William J. Burns during a meeting in Kiev, Ukraine on February 26, 2014. William J. Burns is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private organization in New York City. William J. Burns served as the U.S. Ambassador to Russia from 2005 until 2008. (AP Photo)



Violence broke out between pro-Russian demonstrators and supporters of the new government in the eastern peninsula of Crimea on February 26, 2014.



Fist fights broke out between pro-Russian and anti-Russian protesters in the Crimean peninsula in Ukraine on February 26, 2014. In response Russia has reportedly ordered an immediate mobilization of 150,000 troops.



Pro-Russia demonstrator show their allegiance in Simferopol, Crimea, Ukraine in late February 2014.



© Reuters
Women and children with their mouths taped over and others participants attend a pro-Ukraine rally in Simferopol, Crimea, Ukraine in early March 2014. (Reuters)



A group of Russian soldiers in disguise occupy the streets of Crimea in late February 2014.



Russian troops (on the right) engage in an intense standoff with Ukrainian forces outside of a Ukrainian military base in Crimea in late February 2014. (Associated Press photo)



Left to right: Chuck Hagel (U.S. Secretary of Defense), Ambassador Ihor Dolhov (Ukrainian Ambassador in Belgium), and Olesandr Oliynyk (First Deputy Minister of Defence, Ukraine) at a NATO meeting in Brussels, Belgium on February 27, 2014. (Photo: [NATO](#))



Samantha Power (right), the American ambassador to the United Nations, talks to Russian ambassador to the United Nations, Vitaly Churkin, before a vote regarding the Ukrainian crisis is taken at the United Nations Security Council in New York City on March 15, 2014. Russia on Saturday vetoed a United Nations Security Council draft resolution that declares a planned referendum on the status of Ukraine's Crimea region "can have no validity" and urges nations and international organizations not to recognize it. (Note: Samantha Power is married to Harvard Law School professor Cass Sunstein.) (Reuters/Andrew Kelly)



Secretary General of NATO Anders Fogh Rasmussen (left) talks with Ukraine's First Deputy Defense Minister Oleksandr Oliynyk (right) prior to the meeting of NATO-Ukraine Commission during the 2-day NATO Defence Ministers Meeting at its headquarters in Brussels, Belgium on February 27, 2014. (Xinhua/Ye Pingfan)



Secretary General of NATO Anders Fogh Rasmussen (left) shakes hands with U.S. Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel prior to the meeting of NATO-Ukraine Commission during the 2-day NATO Defence Ministers Meeting at its headquarters in Brussels, Belgium on February 27, 2014. (Xinhua/Ye Pingfan)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (center) and Defense Minister of Russia Sergei Shoigu (left), and the commander of the Western Military District Anatoly Sidorov (right) walk upon arrival to watch military exercise near St. Petersburg, Russia on Monday, March 3, 2014. Putin has sought and quickly got the Russian parliament's permission to use the Russian military in Ukraine. (AP Photo/RIA-Novosti, Mikhail Klimentyev, Presidential Press Service)



Armed Russian navy servicemen surround a Ukrainian border guard base in Balaklava, in the Crimea region on February 28, 2014. Armed men took control of two airports in the Crimea region on Friday in what Ukraine's government described as an invasion and occupation by Russian forces, stoking tension between Moscow and the West. More than 10 Russian military helicopters also flew into Ukrainian airspace over the region on Friday, Kiev's border guard service said, accusing Russian servicemen of blockading one of its units in the port city of Sevastopol, where part of Moscow's Black Sea fleet is based. (REUTERS/Baz Ratner)



A man in Sevastopol, Ukraine walks next to a “campaign” poster calling for residents of Crimea to vote in favor of Russian annexation in the upcoming “referendum” scheduled for March 16, 2014.



Ukrainians hold portraits of people, who were killed during protests, as they attend a rally on the Independence Square in Kiev, Ukraine on March 2, 2014. Russia ratcheted tension in the Ukraine crisis on March 1 with its upper house of parliament approving the use of armed forces in the Crimean peninsula, which is part of Ukraine. Interim President of Ukraine Turchynov on March 1 has placed Ukraine's military on high alert in response to Russia's possible military invasion of Ukraine. President of Russia Vladimir Putin the same day told U.S. President Obama that if violence keeps spreading in eastern Ukraine and Crimea, Moscow will reserve its right to protect its own interests and those of the Russian-speaking population there. 'The troops are already there,' said Ukrainian UN Ambassador Sergeyev at an emergency meeting of the Security Council and called on Russia to respect Ukraine's territorial integrity, saying the presence of Russian troops in Crimea was illegal and an 'act of aggression.' (EPA/Sergey Dolzhenko)



Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk (left) appears with British Foreign Secretary William Hague prior to their meeting in Kiev, Ukraine on March 3, 2014. Pro-Russian troops took over a ferry terminal on the easternmost tip of Crimea close to Russia on Monday, exacerbating fears that Moscow is planning to bring even more troops into this strategic Black Sea region. (AP Photo/Andrew Kravchenko, Pool)



Protest leader Pavel Gubarev (2nd L, front) and other pro-Russian demonstrators hold a meeting after entering the regional government building in Donetsk, Ukraine on March 3, 2014. Pro-Russian demonstrators occupied the first floor of the regional government building in east Ukraine's city of Donetsk on Monday, the latest in days of rallies that Kiev says are organised by Moscow as a pretext to invade. The 11-storey building has been flying the Russian flag, rather than the Ukrainian flag, for three days, with demonstrators carrying Russian flags staging rallies outside. The Donetsk protest leader, Gubarev, demanded the parliament in Kiev be declared illegitimate, a pro-Russian governor be accepted in Donetsk and all security forces be put under regional command. (REUTERS/Stringer)



Barack Obama (left), President of the United States, convenes a National Security Council meeting in the Situation Room of the White House to discuss the situation in Ukraine, March 3, 2014. From left to right: President Obama, National Security Advisor Susan E. Rice, Deputy Secretary of State William J. "Bill" Burns, Secretary of the Treasury Jack Lew, Deputy National Security Advisor Antony Blinken, Homeland Security Advisor Lisa Monaco. To the right of Obama is Vice President Joe Biden, Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Martin Dempsey, Director of National Intelligence James R. Clapper, and CIA Director John Brennan. **Susan E. Rice, William J. "Bill" Burns, Jack Lew, Antony Blinken, Lisa Monaco, and Chuck Hagel are members of the Council on Foreign Relations.** (Official White House Photo by Pete Souza)

"IF A COMMUNIST REGIME IS IN A STATE OF CRISIS, if the regime is weak, if its leadership is split or compromised, the logical pattern for disinformation is to conceal the crisis and its dimensions, to attract attention to other areas and problems, and to present the situation both domestically and to the outside world in as favorable a light as possible. This is the "facade and strength," or Potemkin village, pattern of disinformation. It has been applied in all communist countries, including, for example, China and Romania as well as the Soviet Union. The general pattern of disinformation determines the forms it takes and the techniques used. **In the facade and strength pattern, information damaging to the regime is suppressed and information favorable to it is exaggerated. The real issues are reflected vaguely, if at all, in the press. Statistics are withheld or inflated. Propaganda plays a leading role to the extent that it becomes in itself the main form of disinformation. Special deceptions are carried out to support the credibility of the propaganda. The failures and weakness of the regime are presented as its successes and strengths. Political and ideological passivity and retreat are presented as political and ideological victories. Concern about the future is presented as confidence.** The fears of the outside world at communist strength are deliberately aroused and the communist threat is exaggerated out of proportion to its actual potential in order to discourage external intervention in communist affairs." – *New Lies for Old* by Anatoliy Golitsyn, p. 18



Colonel Yuliy Mamchur, commander of the Ukrainian military garrison at Belbek airbase, salutes before leading over 100 of his unarmed troops to retake Belbek airfield from soldiers under Russian command in Crimea, on March 4, 2014 in Lubimovka, Ukraine. After spending a tense night anticipating a Russian attack following the expiration of a Russian deadline to surrender, in which family members of troops spent the night at the garrison gate in support of the soldiers, Mamchor announced his bold plan to his soldiers early that morning. (Photo: Sean Gallup / Getty Images)



Ukrainian soldiers stand guard at the gate of a military base in the port of Kerch, Ukraine on Monday, March 3, 2014. Pro-Russian troops controlled a ferry terminal on the easternmost tip of Ukraine's Crimea region close to Russia on Monday, intensifying fears that Moscow will send even more troops into the strategic Black Sea region in its tense dispute with its Slavic neighbor. (AP Photo/Darko Vojinovic)



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry meets with Ukraine's interim Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk and interim President Oleksandr Turchynov at the Verkhovna Rada in Kyiv, Ukraine, on March 4, 2014. (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry (2nd left) meets with Ukrainian Members of Parliament (left to right) Vitali Klitschko, Petro Poroshenko, Oleh Tyahnybok, and Sergey Tigipko at the Verkhovna Rada in Kyiv, Ukraine, on March 4, 2014. **Petro Poroshenko, informally known as “Chocolate King”, was elected President of Ukraine during a presidential election held on May 25, 2014.** (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry visits the Shrine of the Fallen in Kyiv, Ukraine, on March 4, 2014. (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Ukrainian Foreign Minister Andrii Deshchytsia look at the Foreign Minister's cell phone after the Budapest Memorandum Ministerial in Paris, France, on March 5, 2014. [State Department photo/ Public Domain]



Acting Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk meets with European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso (2nd left), Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel (right), and Prime Minister of Estonia Andrus Ansip (left) on March 6, 2014.



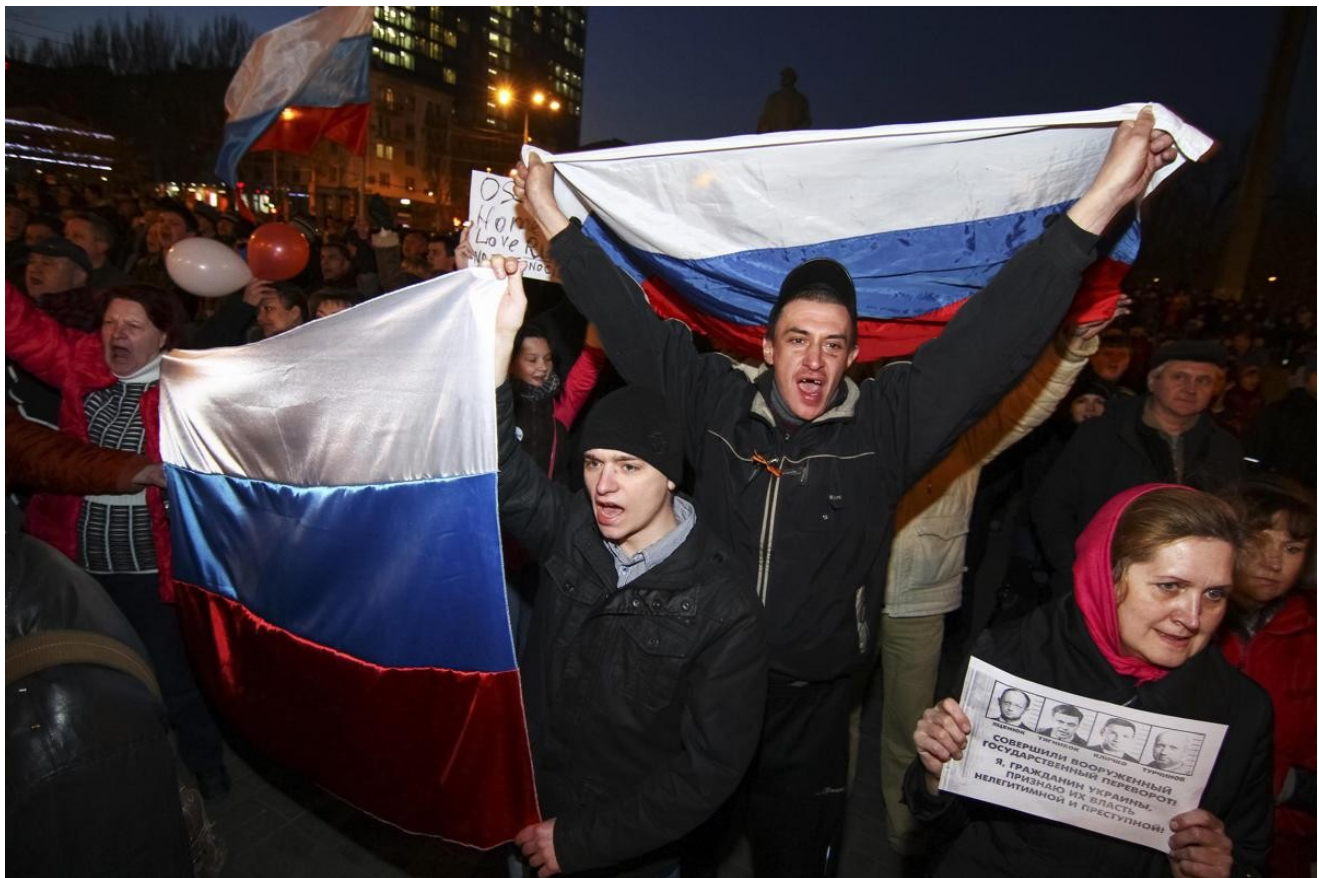
Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk (left) and NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen attend a press conference at the NATO headquarters in Brussels, Belgium on March 6, 2014. **Anders Fogh Rasmussen attended the 2014 Bilderberg Meetings conference held in Copenhagen, Denmark from May 29, 2014 until June 1, 2014.** (Xinhua/Gong Bing)



A man holds a Soviet Union flag as he attends a pro-Russian rally at the Crimean parliament building in Simferopol, Crimea on March 6, 2014. The decree making Crimea part of Russia is already in force and Ukrainian troops still on its territory will be treated as occupiers and forced to surrender or leave, the Russian-controlled region's deputy prime minister said. (REUTERS/David Mdzinarishvili)



A fight breaks out between Ukrainians and ethnic Russian residents in Donetsk, Ukraine on the night of March 13, 2014.



Pro-Russian demonstrators take part in a rally in Donetsk, Ukraine on March 13, 2014. One person was killed and several were treated for injuries in hospital on Thursday when hundreds of Ukrainian demonstrators clashed in the eastern city of Donetsk, the local health authority said. Several hundred people chanting slogans praising Russian President Vladimir Putin clashed with a similar-sized crowd condemning Moscow's takeover of Crimea on a central square in the mainly Russian-speaking industrial city. (REUTERS/Stringer)



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry greets Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk (left) before their bilateral meeting at the U.S. Department of State in Washington, D.C. on March 12, 2014. (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



Barack Obama (right), President of the United States of America, shakes hands with Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk during a bilateral meeting in the Oval Office in Washington, D.C., on March 12, 2014. The leaders discussed the crisis in Ukraine and Crimea, in the aftermath of the removal of former President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovych from power and Russia's occupation of Crimea. (UPI/Mike Theiler)
Minister David Cameron and Foreign Secretary William Hague on March 14, 2014. (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



United States Senator John McCain (2nd left) meets with Ukrainian government officials in Kiev, Ukraine on March 14, 2014. John McCain is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: [U.S. Embassy Kyiv](#))



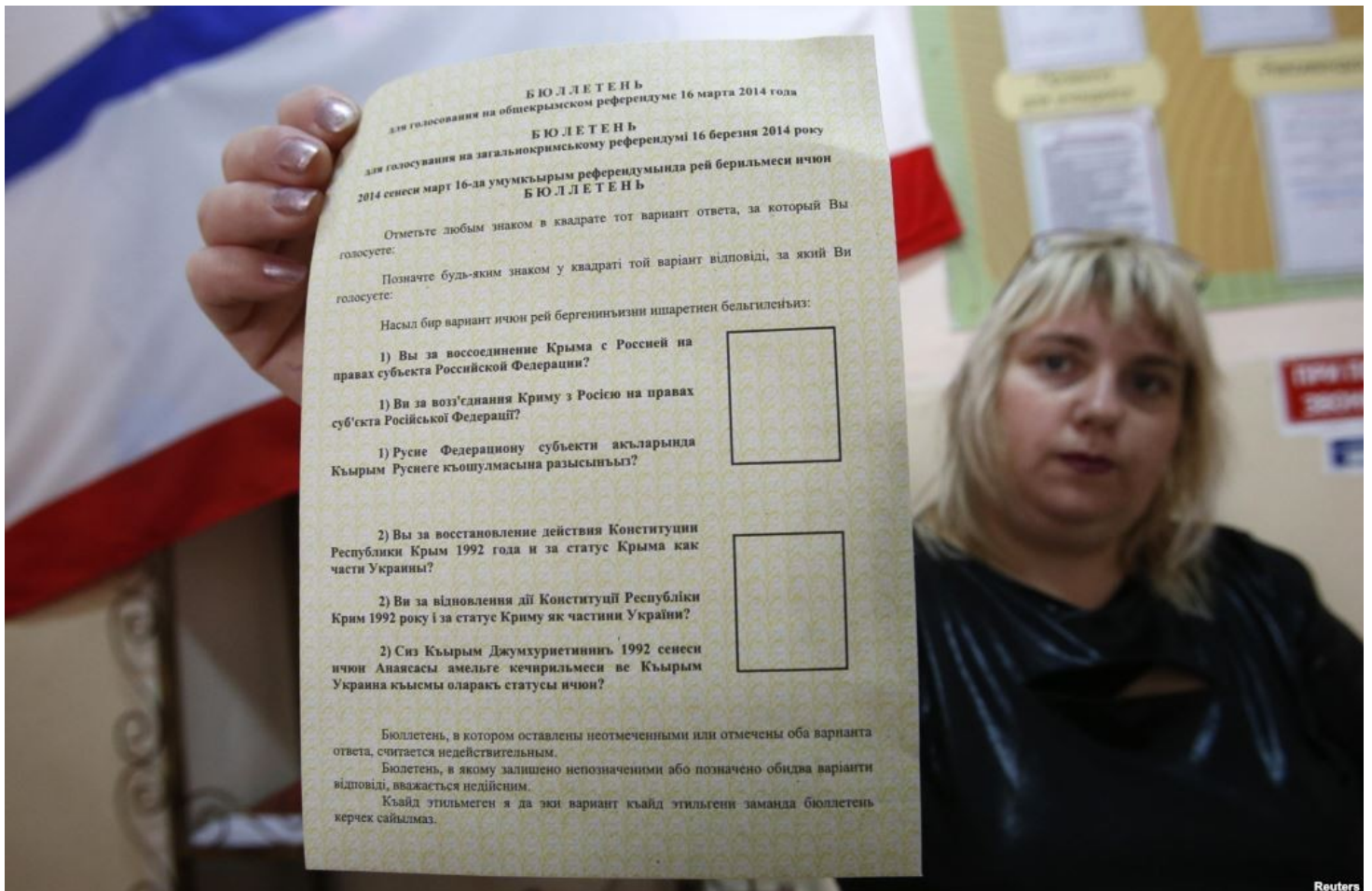
United States Secretary of State John Kerry, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, and their respective teams sit down for a bilateral discussion focused on deescalating tensions in Ukraine in London, United Kingdom on March 14, 2014. The woman on the far left is Victoria Nuland, the Assistant U.S. Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs. (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry sits in No. 10 Downing Street in London, United Kingdom, at the outset of a meeting with British Prime Minister David Cameron and Foreign Secretary William Hague on March 14, 2014. (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



A group of bureaucrats in Simferopol, Crimea, Ukraine prepare to count the ballots after residents of Crimea voted on the political status of Crimea on March 16, 2014. (Photo: Bulent Doruk/Anadolu Agency via Getty Images)



An election commission official shows a ballot paper for the referendum at a polling station in Simferopol, Crimea, Ukraine on March 15, 2014. (Reuters)



A woman casts her ballot inside a glass box at a polling station during the Crimean referendum, in Sevastopol, Crimea, Ukraine on Sunday, March 16, 2014. Residents of Ukraine's Crimea region voted in a controversial referendum on the political status of Crimea. Residents of Crimea were given the "option" of staying with Ukraine or supporting the Russian annexation of Crimea. (AP Photo/Andrew Lubimov)



Russian residents of Sevastopol wave Russian and Soviet flags as fireworks erupt in the background in Sevastopol on March 21, 2014. Russian residents of Crimea celebrated the annexation of Crimea by Russia. (Photo: Viktor Drachev/AFP/Getty Images)



Russian residents of Sevastopol wave Russian and Soviet flags as fireworks erupt in the background in Sevastopol on March 21, 2014. Russian residents of Crimea celebrated the annexation of Crimea by Russia. The statue on the left is the monument of Russian naval admiral Pavel Nakhimov.



Russian residents celebrate in the central square in Sevastopol, Crimea, Ukraine on late Sunday, March 16, 2014. (AP Photo)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (2nd right, front), “Prime Minister” of Crimea Sergei Aksyonov (left, front), parliamentary speaker Vladimir Konstantinov (2nd left, front) and Sevastopol Mayor Alexei Chaliy attend a signing ceremony at the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia on March 18, 2014.



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (2nd right), “Prime Minister” of Crimea Sergei Aksyonov (front left), Crimean parliamentary speaker Vladimir Konstantinov (back left) and Mayor of Sevastopol Alexei Chaliy (right) shake hands after a signing ceremony at the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia on March 18, 2014.



Ukrainian patriots demonstrate a huge yellow-and-blue Ukrainian flag during a rally in support of Ukraine's territorial integrity in the eastern city of Kharkiv, Ukraine in March 2014.



A Ukrainian officer leaves as Russian soldiers patrol at the Ukrainian navy headquarters in Sevastopol, Crimea, Ukraine on March 19, 2014. Ukrainian servicemen fled out of navy headquarters in Sevastopol on March 19 with tears in their eyes after the base was seized by pro-Moscow thugs, Russian troops, and Cossack forces. The assault began when some 200 unarmed militants -- some of them in balaclavas -- sawed through a fence and overran the base while the Ukrainian servicemen barricaded themselves inside. (AFP Photo/ Viktor Drachev)



Unarmed members of Pro-Russian self-defense forces, left, force themselves through a chain of Ukrainian military men at the Ukrainian Navy headquarters in Sevastopol, Crimea, Wednesday, March 19, 2014. An Associated Press photographer said several hundred militiamen took down the gate and made their way onto the base. They then raised the Russian flag on the square by the headquarters. The unarmed militia waited for an hour in the square before the move to storm the headquarters. Following the arrival of the commander of the Russian Black Sea fleet, the Crimeans took over the building. (AP Photo/Andrew Lubimov)



Ukrainian soldiers fold the Ukrainian flag, which was removed by a Crimean pro- Russian self-defense force at the Ukrainian Navy headquarters in Sevastopol, Crimea, Wednesday, March 19, 2014. An Associated Press photographer said several hundred militiamen took down the gate and made their way onto the base. They then raised the Russian flag on the square by the headquarters. The unarmed militia waited for an hour on the square before the move to storm the headquarters. Following the arrival of the commander of the Russian Black Sea fleet, the Crimeans took over the building. (AP Photo/Andrew Lubimov)



The Ukrainian ship Slavutich (center) is seen blocked by two Russian ships at the harbor in Sevastopol, Crimea on March 20, 2014. (REUTERS/Vasily Fedosenko)



Ukrainian servicemen stand guard at a Ukrainian military base in Belbek, Crimea on March 21, 2014. U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon urged Ukraine and Russia on Friday March 28, 2014 to meet for talks to prevent the crisis between them becoming “uncontrollable” and spreading beyond the region. (REUTERS/Vasily Fedosenko)



People take part in an anti-war rally in Moscow, Russia on Saturday, March 15, 2014 as Russia vetoes the UN resolution on the referendum on Crimea. (Photo: Reuters)



Russian citizens and patriots carry "Hands off Ukraine" sign at an anti-war rally in Moscow, Russia on Saturday, March 15, 2014.

Thousands march in Moscow to protest Crimea vote

By Laura Mills
Associated Press
March 15, 2014

MOSCOW (AP) — Tens of thousands of anti-government protesters marched in central Moscow Saturday against a Kremlin-backed referendum in Crimea on whether to break away from Ukraine and join Russia.

It was the largest anti-government demonstration since 2012. Demonstrators waved Russian and Ukrainian flags, while opposition activists — including two members of the Pussy Riot punk band — shouted "Say no to war!" and "Putin, go away!" from the stage.

Protesters also held up banners that read: "For your freedom and for ours!" One demonstrator held up a plate of salo — cured pork fat that is a staple of Ukrainian cuisine and adored by many Russians — along with a poster that read: "Make salo, not war!"

Nearby, a rally of several thousand was held close to the Kremlin in support of Russian intervention in Crimea.

Crimea's referendum Sunday has been loudly condemned as illegitimate by much of the international community. As heavily armed forces apparently under Russian command have effectively taken control of the peninsula, the vote to join Russia has been widely criticized as a mere formality.

Russian support for reclaiming Crimea majority has intensified amid weeks of relentless state television coverage of purported aggression toward ethnic Russians by the new Kiev government, which came to power after Ukraine's Moscow-friendly president, Viktor Yanukovich, fled the country in February.

While President Vladimir Putin's ratings have risen since he announced Russia's willingness to use force in Ukraine, the anti-government demonstration Saturday showed that not everyone is happy with the decision.

"I love Ukraine — it's Putin who needs war and an empire, not me," said Dmitry Maksimov, a 29-year-old lawyer who held a bouquet of flowers dyed blue and yellow, the colors of the Ukrainian flag.

Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, a member of Pussy Riot, called for defiance against the authorities.

"Don't believe it when they say that we are few, that we are weak. Together we will change this country," she said in a speech from a stage.

None of Russia's state-owned news channels showed footage from the anti-government protest, and instead showed live video from the rally near the Kremlin, where large gangs of men from a group called "Essence of Time" dressed in uniform red jackets and marched to the sound of Soviet-era military music in disciplined columns.

Source: <http://news.yahoo.com/thousands-march-moscow-protest-crimea-vote-150812036.html>

Thousands Attend Anti-War Rally in Moscow

By Oleg Sukhov; March 17 2014

Tens of thousands of people marched along Moscow's Boulevard Ring on Saturday to protest Russia's action in Crimea and the crackdown on independent media they say has accompanied it. The rally, which some opposition activists said was the largest in a year, was initially expected to be aimed against a potential war with Ukraine.

But the appointment of a pro-Kremlin editor at the Lenta.ru news site late last week and the blocking of several opposition sites, as well as prominent opposition leader Alexei Navalny's blog, were added to the event's agenda at the last minute.

The organizers estimated the number of participants at 70,000, while AFP said 50,000 attended the march, and police counted 3,000 protesters.

The rally featured an unprecedented number of Russian flags, as well as Ukrainian ones. While previously the main symbol of Russia's opposition movement had been a white ribbon, national symbols have been used more often in recent months — an apparent nod to protesters from the recent Ukrainian uprising.

Some of the more prominent slogans at Saturday's march also came from the recent protests in Kiev. These included "Long live Ukraine — long live the heroes!" and "Long live the Heavenly Hundred!" — a reference to the at least 109 protesters who were killed during the revolution. Some participants of the protest adapted the Ukrainian slogans, chanting "Long live Russia — long live the heroes!"

The theme of peace with Ukraine, a country with close cultural and linguistic links to Russia that is often called "brotherly," dominated at the rally. One protester alluded to the biblical story about Cain killing Abel, carrying a poster that read "Russia, where is Abel, thy brother?"

"Ukraine is a brotherly country, and we will not allow [the Kremlin] to drag us into a fratricidal war," Ilya Yashin, a leader of the RPR-Parnas party, said at the protest. **Yashin said the national interests of Russia depended on being a peaceful country and respecting the sovereignty of other countries, calling President Vladimir Putin "an enemy of Russia."**

"We are told that Putin is creating a great, strong Russia," he said. "But what is strength? An aggressive, unpredictable, unreliable country that claims territory belonging to a neighboring state — is that the image of a strong Russia?"

A group of demonstrators held Japanese characters meaning "peace," and the rally also featured pictures of atrocities caused by military conflicts. Two protesters carried a poster reading "Make salo, not war" — a reference to a traditional Ukrainian pork dish — and had slices of salo laid out before them. They also held signs reading "1914-2014," comparing the Crimean crisis to World War I, and "Sarajevo=Kiev," a reference to the Bosnian War.

Several participants also referred to the fact that the Russian state had its roots in Kievan Rus. "Kiev is the mother of Russian cities," said Roman Dobrokhoto, an activist of the Solidarity movement. "Kiev is where Russia comes from and where it will get a new lease on life." Another protester ridiculed Putin's recent statement that Ukraine's secession from the Soviet Union was not completely legal, holding a placard saying "Russian principalities' secession from Kievan Rus was not quite legal."

Putin's decision to intervene in Crimea was seen by some protesters as a sign of madness and by others as a step toward an outright dictatorship.

Two demonstrators in white coats held a picture of Putin in a straitjacket, while another one carried a placard reading "Putin, your friends Nicolae Ceaucescu, Muamar Gaddafi and Saddam Hussein are waiting for you." Apart from the Crimean crisis, the rally was also devoted to what protesters saw as the Kremlin's attempts to stifle independent media and introduce a more authoritarian regime, with some posters saying "I do not want to live in North Korea" and "Down with a throwback to the Soviet Union!"

Anton Mazurov, a 45-year-old film critic who attended the protest, said that the apparent crackdown on independent media was a reaction to the Ukrainian revolution. "This is a hysterical reaction. These media posed no threat to the Kremlin," he said, adding that he had come to the rally because of "the absurdity of what is happening."

Source: <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/thousands-attend-anti-war-rally-in-moscow/496233.html>

Clinton Tells Ukraine That Door To NATO Remains Open

By RFE/RL [Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty]

Last updated (GMT/UTC): 02.07.2010 16:09

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton says "NATO's door remains open to Ukraine," despite the country's retreat from pursuing membership in the bloc under President Viktor Yanukoych. She also said that the notion of a Western-aligned Ukraine versus a Russian-aligned Ukraine was a "false choice."

Clinton made the remarks today in Kyiv, where she met with her Ukrainian counterpart, Kostyantyn Hryshchenko, before meeting with Yanukovych. She is also scheduled to meet with opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko and representatives of civil society on what is the first stop of the secretary's five-capital tour of Eastern Europe and the Caucasus.

"Ukraine is a sovereign and independent country that has the right to choose your own alliances," said Clinton, speaking alongside Hryshchenko. "And NATO's door remains open, but it's up to Ukraine to decide whether or not you wish to pursue that or any other course for your own security interest."

Since the election in February of Yanukoych, the reincarnated villain of the Orange Revolution, Ukraine has sought to repair severely strained ties with Russia. Yanukovych's predecessor, Viktor Yushchenko, had infuriated Moscow by pushing for NATO membership. But in April, the new government scrapped a state body set up to oversee the country's eventual accession to the U.S.-led military alliance. On July 1, on the eve of Clinton's arrival, Ukraine's parliament passed in the final reading a law formally establishing a non-aligned status for the country.

East-West Interests

Speaking alongside Yanukovych, Clinton said that the U.S. does not believe in the concept of spheres of influence. She expressed hope that Ukraine would continue pursue constructive relations with the EU and the United States, along with a relationship with Russia that is "in Ukraine's interest."

"Some have tried to force Ukrainians into a choice between aligning your country with Russia or with the West," she said. "We believe that is a false choice."

Yanukovych called the United States a "reliable strategic partner" and pledged to "make every effort to strengthen our partnership."

Analysts say that one of the goals for Clinton's visit – the first by a senior U.S. official to Kyiv since Yanukovych was elected – was to help ensure that Ukraine's interests do remained balanced.

Along with scrapping NATO accession plans, the Yanukovych government has speedily pursued other means of rebuilding ties with Moscow. In a decision that sparked a brawl in the country's parliament, a measure was passed in April to prolong the lease of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Ukraine until 2042.

Although Yanukovych specifically referred to his country a "nonbloc European nation," the official line is that the country will continue to pursue a "constructive partnership" with NATO, and aims to participate in military exercises with European members of the bloc.

Yanukovych's interest in a different Western-led bloc were clearer. "Ukraine's path towards European integration has no alternative and that has never been in doubt," he said.

In a reference to the election of Yanukovych, deemed fair by international observers, Clinton said, "Ukraine has already done a great deal to show that you belong in the European Union by setting a democratic example for the region."

Pipeline and Press

Yanukovych used the occasion to propose a new pipeline project to transport Russian gas to the EU through Ukraine, potentially allaying Western European fears about the reliability of Ukrainian gas shipments. A dispute last year between Kyiv and Moscow led to several countries being deprived of energy supplies.

"We have our own Ukrainian concept [of a gas transit system] that we have proposed to our partners, our colleagues from the European Union and from Russia," said Yanukovych. "This concept proposes the establishment of a joint company, with the participation of EU nations, Russia, and Ukraine, with the idea of building a gas pipeline through Ukrainian territory that would provide additional gas supplies to Europe."

Clinton also expressed U.S. support for Ukraine's stalled bid to secure a loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Last year, the international financial overseer halted its \$16.4 billion loan package to Ukraine after the previous government violated the IMF's austerity rules. Ukraine, attempting to recover from a more than 15-percent shrinkage of the economy in the wake of the recent financial crisis, has been pushing to restart the flow of loan money.

Clinton also said the United States was “encouraged” by the Ukrainian government’s “commitment to support freedom of the media” and for ensuring media independence.

She added, however, that Kyiv now needs to turn those commitments into action to ensure press freedoms and other democratic rights.

Since the election of Yanukovich, rights watchdogs and international observers have expressed growing concern over reports of increased pressure on journalists and a clampdown on the media.

Private television companies have recently issued petitions complaining of censorship in news programs, and the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine last month warned there should be no going back to the "old system" of government pressure.

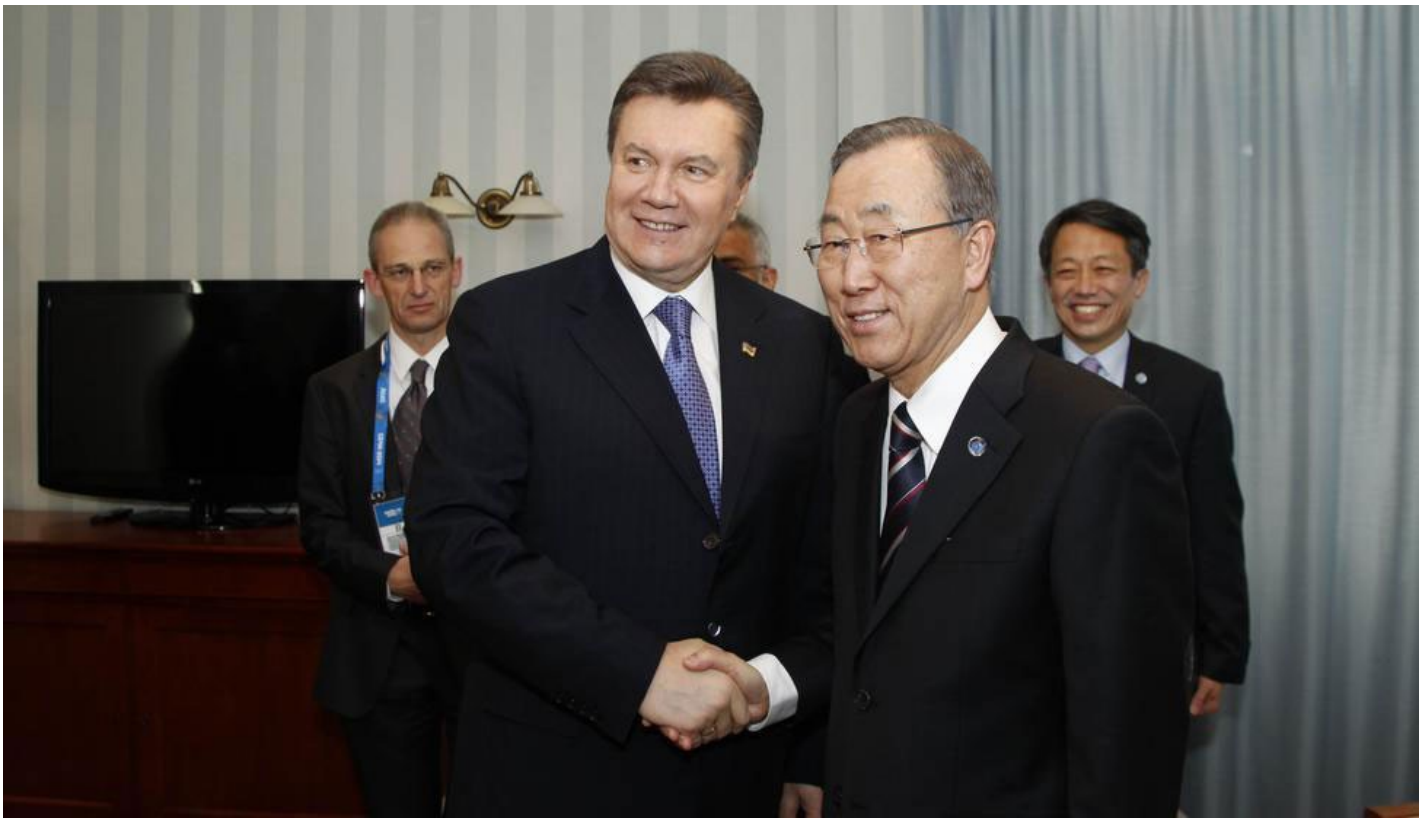
Clinton will conclude her visit with a speech at Kyiv Polytechnic Institute. Next on her itinerary is Krakow, followed by Baku, Yerevan, and Tbilisi.

written by Richard Solash, with agency reports

Source: http://www.rferl.org/content/Clinton_Tells_Ukraine_That_Door_To_NATO_Remains_Open/2089237.html



President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich (left) presents a bouquet of flowers to U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in Kyiv [Kiev], Ukraine on July 2, 2010.



President of Ukraine Victor Yanukovich meets with United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon at the Olympic Games in Sochi, Russia on February 7, 2014. (UN Photo/Paulo Filgueiras)



Foreign Minister of Russia Sergey Lavrov (left) meets with United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in Geneva, Switzerland on March 3, 2014. (UN Photo/Eskinder Debebe)



United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (left) meets with President of Russia Vladimir Putin in Moscow, Russia on March 20, 2014. (UN Photo/Eskinder Debebe)



Acting President of Ukraine Oleksandr Turchynov (left) welcomes United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon during a meeting in Kyiv, Ukraine on March 21, 2014. (AP Photo)



Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk (left) shakes hands with United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon at the United Nations Headquarters Building in New York City on March 13, 2014. (UPI/John Angelillo)



Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk (left) and European Council President Herman Van Rompuy exchange documents at the signing ceremony in Brussels, Belgium on March 21, 2014.



European Council President Herman Van Rompuy (far right) looks at his papers as (from right to left) Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Prime Minister of Great Britain David Cameron, Prime Minister of Sweden Fredrik Reinfeldt, Prime Minister of Finland Jyrki Katainen and Prime Minister of Slovakia Robert Fico applaud during a signing ceremony at a European Union summit in Brussels, Belgium on March 21, 2014. (AP Photo)



Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk (center) appears with European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso (left) and Catherine Ashton (right) in Brussels, Belgium in March 2014.



Geoffrey Pyatt (2nd left), the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, and Wendy Sherman (center, yellow jacket), the U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, meet with Oleksandr Turchynov (right), Acting President of Ukraine, at Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) in Kiev, Ukraine on March 20, 2014. Wendy Sherman is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: [U.S. Embassy Kyiv](http://U.S.EmbassyKyiv))



President of the United States of America Barack Obama (right) meets with President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev at the U.S. Ambassador's Residence in The Hague, Netherlands on Tuesday, March 25, 2014. (AP Photo/Pablo Martinez Monsivais)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin (left) congratulates Brooklyn Nets owner Mikhail Prokhorov during a state award ceremony at the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia on Monday, March 24, 2014. Nets owner Mikhail Prokhorov said on Monday he planned to relocate his company that runs the Brooklyn Nets basketball team to Russia, in keeping with the Kremlin's call on Russian businessmen to repatriate their assets to help combat new American sanctions. The United States and European Union have imposed visa bans and asset freezes on officials and businessmen believed to be close to Russian President Vladimir Putin in protest at Moscow's annexation of Ukraine's Crimea region. (Photo: Getty Images)



In this photo provided by Russian Defense Ministry shows, Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu, third from left, looks at Russian marines as they march with the Russian navy Sevastopol's flags at a military base in Sevastopol, Crimea on Monday, March 24, 2014. Shoigu's visit comes as Ukraine's provisional government ordered Ukrainian troops to withdraw from Crimea on Monday, ending days of wavering as Russian troops consolidate control over the peninsula. (AP Photo/Press Service of Russian Defense Ministry, Vadim Savitsky)



In this photo provided by the Russian Defense Ministry, Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu, left, awards a former Ukrainian special forces "Berkut" officer, back to camera, at a military base in Sevastopol, Crimea, Monday, March 24, 2014. (AP Photo/Press Service of Russian Defense Ministry, Vadim Savitsky, Pool)



A Ukrainian border guard stands at a Russian-Ukrainian border crossing near the village of Uspenka, in eastern Ukraine March 25, 2014. (REUTERS/Yannis Behrakis)



Acting Defence Minister of Ukraine Mykhailo Koval attends a parliament session in Kiev, Ukraine on March 25, 2014. Lawmakers elected Koval, head of the Ukrainian border guard, to replace acting Defence Minister Ihor Tenyukh. (REUTERS/Alex Kuzmin)



In this photo taken on Monday, March 24, 2014, Oleh Lyashko, center, a lawmaker, who supported the protests that ousted Russian-leaning president Viktor Yanukovych and his government, shakes hands with a soldier while visiting Ukrainian troops near Crimea, annexed by Russia, to support the Ukrainian soldiers' spirit. (AP Photo/Osman Karimov)



Acting Defence Minister of Ukraine Ihor Tenyukh (left) leaves a parliament session as UDAR (Punch) party head Vitaly Klitschko (bottom) stands nearby in Kiev, Ukraine on March 25, 2014. Parliament in Ukraine dismissed Tenyukh on Tuesday in a second vote, having earlier rejected his offer to resign over his handling of Russia's annexation of Crimea. (REUTERS/Alex Kuzmin)



Russian sailors stand onboard the ship Aleksandrovets at the port of Sevastopol, Crimea on March 25, 2014. U.S. President Barack Obama and major industrialised allies warned Russia on Monday it faced damaging economic sanctions if President Vladimir Putin takes further action to destabilise Ukraine following the seizure of Crimea. (REUTERS/Vasily Fedosenko)



Ukrainian tanks are transported from their base in Perevalnoe, outside Simferopol, Crimea on Wednesday, March 26, 2014. Ukraine has started withdrawing its troops and weapons from Crimea, now controlled by Russia. A Shell gasoline station can be seen in the background, on the left side of the photograph. (AP Photo/Pavel Golovkin)



Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk speaks to lawmakers during a session at the Ukrainian parliament in Kiev, Ukraine on Thursday, March 27, 2014. (AP Photo/Sergei Chuzavkov)



People hold a huge Ukrainian, Crimean and Crimean Tatar flags during a rally in support of Ukraine's territorial integrity in Independence Square in Kiev, Ukraine on Thursday, March 27, 2014. (AP Photo/Efrem Lukatsky)



People hold a huge Ukrainian, Crimean and Crimean Tatar flags during rally in support of Ukraine's territorial integrity, in Independence Square in Kiev, Ukraine on Sunday, March 23, 2014. Thousands of demonstrators gathered on Independence Square in Kiev on Sunday for a weekly rally in support of a united Ukraine and against the aggression of the Russian Federation. (AP Photo/Sergei Chuzavkov)



Activists of the Right Sector movement and their supporters gather outside the parliament building to demand the immediate resignation of Internal Affairs Minister Arsen Avakov, in Kiev, Ukraine on March 27, 2014. **A prominent Ukrainian far-right activist, part of a hard-line nationalist movement that played a leading role in the overthrow of President Viktor Yanukovich, was shot dead by police overnight, authorities said on March 25. The Interior Ministry said Oleksander Muzychko, also known as Sashko Bily, was killed by officers of the 'Sokol' special unit as he tried to escape from a cafe in the western Ukrainian region of Rivne.** (REUTERS/Vasily Fedosenko)



Members of the Ukrainian far-right radical group Right Sector stand outside the parliament in Kiev, Ukraine on March 28, 2014. Ukrainian authorities carried out an inspection tour of Kiev's bomb shelters on Friday as lawmakers accused Russia of fomenting trouble in the Ukrainian capital after having annexed the Black Sea region of Crimea. The slogan on the face mask reads "Victory or death". (REUTERS/Valentyn Ogirenko)



Vice President of the United States Joe Biden (left) and Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk attend a press conference in Kiev, Ukraine on April 22, 2014. (Photo: Sergey Dolzhenko/EPA)

AP Interview: Yanukovich was 'wrong' on Crimea

By [CARO KRIEL](#) and [VLADIMIR ISACHENKOV](#)

April 2, 2014 12:10 PM ET

ROSTOV-ON-DON, Russia (AP) — In his first interview since fleeing to Russia, Ukraine's ousted president said Wednesday that he was “wrong” to have invited Russian troops into Crimea and vowed to try to persuade Russia to return the coveted Black Sea peninsula.

Defensive and at times teary-eyed, Viktor Yanukovich told The Associated Press and Russia's state NTV television that he still hopes to negotiate with Russian President Vladimir Putin to get the annexed region back.

“Crimea is a tragedy, a major tragedy,” the 63-year-old Yanukovich said, insisting that Russia’s takeover of Crimea wouldn’t have happened if he had stayed in power. He fled Ukraine in February after three months of protests focused on corruption and on his decision to seek closer ties to Russia instead of the European Union.

Yanukovich denied the allegations of corruption, saying he built his palatial residence outside of Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, with his own money. He also denied responsibility for the sniper deaths of about 80 protesters in Kiev in February, for which he has been charged by Ukraine's interim government.

As the world has watched the tumultuous events in Ukraine, Yanukovich has been a bit of a ghost, even as he has insisted he is still the country's true leader. While Putin has been openly dismissive of Yanukovich, the Russian president has also described him as the legitimate leader and his ouster as illegal.

Yanukovich’s statement about Crimea appeared to represent an attempt to shore up at least some support in his homeland, where even his supporters have deserted him.

Russia annexed Crimea last month following a hastily called referendum held two weeks after Russian troops took control of the region. Ukraine and the West have rejected the vote and the annexation as illegal.

While Russia can hardly be expected to roll back its annexation, Yanukovich’s statement could widen Putin's options in the talks on settling the Ukrainian crisis by creating an impression that Moscow could be open for discussions on Crimea's status in the future.

Yanukovich has now lost the Ukrainian presidency twice in the past decade. In 2004, his presidential win was thrown out after the Orange Revolution protests caused the fraudulent election to be annulled.

Yanukovich said he has spoken with Putin twice by phone and once in person since he arrived in Russia — describing their talks as “difficult” — and hopes to have more meetings with the Russian leader to negotiate Crimea's return to Ukraine.

“We must search for ways ... so that Crimea may have the maximum degree of independence possible ... but be part of Ukraine,” he said.

Yanukovich said the Crimean referendum in March — a vote in which residents overwhelmingly voted to join Russia — was a response to threats posed by radical nationalists in Ukraine.

Putin said last month that Yanukovich had asked Russia to send its troops to Ukraine to protect its people — a request seen as treason by many Ukrainians. Asked about the move, Yanukovich said he had made a mistake.

“I was wrong,” he said. “I acted on my emotions.”

Russian troops quickly overran Crimea, which has an ethnic Russian majority, taking over government and military facilities on the pretext of protecting Russians.

Yanukovych did not answer several questions about whether he would support Russia — which has deployed tens of thousands of troops near the Ukrainian border — moving into Ukraine to protect ethnic Russians, the justification Putin used to take Crimea.

Yanukovych echoed the key Kremlin demand for settling the Ukrainian crisis, pushing for a referendum that could turn Ukraine into a loosely knit federation. He said such a referendum should be followed by constitutional reform, and only after that should Ukraine have a national election.

The interim government in Kiev that took power after him has scheduled a presidential election for May 25.

Yanukovych, who was born in the Donetsk coal-mining region of eastern Ukraine, worked at a metal plant before becoming an industrial manager and rising through the ranks to become a local governor and then prime minister. His critics note his criminal record and say he lacks a proper education to qualify for the country's top job.

After he left the country, crowds of Ukrainians flocked to view his opulent country residence outside of Kiev and were shocked by its extravagant display of wealth amid the country's financial ruin.

On Wednesday, Yanukovych denied any corruption surrounding the estate. He spoke with pride and affection about his collection of dozens of classic cars, saying he had bought them over years. He also said he hadn't seen or used the golden loaf of bread found in his residence that attracted much attention and sarcasm.

He also insisted that he gave no advantages or special privileges to his dentist-turned-billionaire son Alexander, who is said to have amassed a vast fortune during his father's rule and angered other Ukrainian tycoons by taking over some of the country's most profitable assets.

Yanukovych insisted he was reluctant to use force against the protesters who paralyzed Kiev for months, saying he was criticized by his entourage for taking too soft an attitude.

He firmly denied that he gave the orders to shoot the demonstrators in downtown Kiev in February. The government now in power has slapped Yanukovych with criminal charges in connection with those deaths.

The long-time politician said he hopes to return to Ukraine someday, but didn't offer any details on how he could reclaim power.

With tears welling in his eyes, Yanukovych said he was ready to sacrifice his life during the escalating protests but realized that doing so would be simply a gift to the “neo-fascists” who he said seized power by force. He claimed they machine-gunned his convoy as he was leaving the Ukrainian capital.

“I didn't want to give them my life just for nothing,” he said.

Source: [The Associated Press](#)

Under Russia, Life in Crimea Grows Chaotic

By [NEIL MacFARQUHAR](#)

APRIL 21, 2014

SIMFEROPOL, Crimea — After [Russia](#) annexed Crimea practically overnight, the Russian bureaucrats handling passports and residence permits inhabited the building of their Ukrainian predecessors, where Roman Nikolayev now waits daily with a seemingly mundane question.

His daughter and granddaughter were newly arrived from [Ukraine](#) when they suddenly found themselves in a different country, so he wonders if they can become legal residents. But he cannot get inside to ask because he is No. 4,475 on the waiting list for passports. At most, 200 people are admitted each day from the crowd churning around the tall, rusty iron gate.

“They set up hotlines, but nobody ever answers,” said Mr. Nikolayev, 54, a trim, retired transportation manager with a short salt-and-pepper beard.

“Before we had a pretty well-organized country — life was smooth,” he said, sighing. “Then, within the space of two weeks, one country became another.” He added, “Eto bardak,” using the Russian for bordello and meaning, “This is a mess.”

One month after the lightning annexation, residents of this Black Sea peninsula find themselves living not so much in a different state, Russia, as in a state of perpetual confusion. Declaring the change, they are finding, was far easier than actually carrying it out.

The chaotic transition comes amid evolving tensions in nearby eastern Ukraine, where the possible outcomes include a Crimea-annexation replay.

In Crimea now, few institutions function normally. Most banks are closed. So are land registration offices. Court cases have been postponed indefinitely. Food imports are haphazard. Some foreign companies, like McDonald’s, have shut down.

Other changes are more sinister. “Self-defense units,” with no obvious official mandate, swoop down at train stations and other entry points for sudden inspections. Drug addicts, political activists, gays and even Ukrainian priests — all censured by either the government or the [Russian Orthodox Church](#) — are among the most obvious groups fearing life under a far less tolerant government.

In fact, switching countries has brought disarray to virtually all aspects of life. Crimeans find themselves needing new things every day — driver’s licenses and license plates, insurance and prescriptions, passports and school curriculums. The Russians who have flooded in seeking land deals and other opportunities have been equally frustrated by the logistical and bureaucratic roadblocks.

“The radical reconstruction of everything is required, so these problems are multiplying,” said Vladimir P. Kazarin, 66, a philology professor at Taurida National University. (The university’s name, which derives from Greek history, is scheduled to be changed.) “It will take two or three years for all this chaos to be worked out, yet we have to keep on living.”

On a deeper level, some Crimeans struggle with fundamental questions about their identity, a far more tangled process than merely changing passports.

“I cannot say to myself, ‘O.K., now I will stop loving Ukraine and I will love Russia,’ ” said Natalia Ishchenko, another Taurida professor with roots in both countries. “I feel like my heart is broken in two parts. It is really difficult psychologically.”

The Crimean government dismisses any doubts or even complaints.

“Nonsense!” said Yelena Yurchenko, the minister for tourism and resorts and the daughter of a Soviet admiral who retired in Crimea. These “are small issues that can be resolved as they appear,” she said, adding, “It might result in certain tensions for the lazy people who do not want to make progress.”

Legions of Russian officials have descended on Crimea to teach the local people how to become Russian. In tourism alone, Ms. Yurchenko said, Crimea needed advice about Russian law, marketing, health care and news media.

“Can you imagine how many people need to come to work here for just that one sector?” she said in an interview, explaining why even her ministry could not help anyone find a hotel room in Simferopol, the Crimean capital. “We also have transportation, economy, construction, medicine, culture and many other things.”

Other changes in national identity elsewhere, like the “velvet divorce” of the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993, happened with more advance planning. Crimeans feel as if they went through the entire reverse process in 1991, when Ukraine left the Soviet Union, which had transferred the peninsula to Ukraine from Russia in 1954. Confused? So are they.

For Crimeans, every day overflows with uncertainty.

Food imports, for example, have dwindled in the face of murky, slapdash rules. The Crimean authorities recently banned cheese and pork from Ukraine, then announced that full Russian border controls would be put in effect on Friday. Shoppers are suddenly finding favorite brands of ordinary items like yogurt unavailable.

Citing logistical problems, McDonald’s closed. Metro, a giant German supermarket chain, also shut down. Most multinational businesses want to avoid possible sanctions elsewhere for operating in Crimea.

Flight connections have been severed except to Russia. Crimea officially [moved an hour ahead to Moscow time](#), but cellphones automatically revert to Ukrainian time.

In Dzhankoy, about 55 miles north of this capital city, Edward A. Fyodorov, 37, has been selling ice cream since he was 9 years old. Those sales eventually led to a fleet of 20 refrigerated trucks. He used to import all manner of food from Ukraine, including frozen buns and salad fixings for McDonald’s, plus various goods for Metro supermarkets and 300 smaller grocery stores.

Business is off 90 percent, he said. Five to seven truckloads a day have diminished to about one a week. He has been looking for Russian suppliers, but products cost about 70 percent more and transportation issues are thorny.

Crimea lacks a land border with Russia, about 350 miles away through Ukraine. The lone ferry crosses to Crimea from an obscure corner of the Caucasus. An expensive bridge promised by the Kremlin is years away.

“It is impossible to make any plans or forecasts,” said Mr. Fyodorov, voicing an almost universal lament. Even if he found work, he said, closed banks make payments impossible.

Long lines snake outside the few Russian banks operating. (Some Crimeans waiting in line resorted to a Soviet-era tactic of volunteering to maintain epic lists — at one passport office the list stretched to more than 12,000 names.) President Vladimir V. Putin announced Thursday that he hoped to have Russian banks functioning normally in Crimea within a month.

The Kremlin, which has announced plans to make Crimea a gambling mecca, set an official deadline of Jan. 1, 2015, for the transition. The initial cost allocated to “all Crimean programs” this year will be \$2.85 billion, Mr. Putin said, but given the promises the Kremlin has made regarding infrastructure and doubled pensions, among other things, the eventual annexation bill is expected to climb far beyond that.

Prices are often quoted in both Ukrainian hryvnias and Russian rubles, but the exchange rate fluctuates constantly. Even the simplest transactions, like paying taxi fares, result in haggling by calculator.

Land sales, despite surging demand from Russians wanting seaside dachas, have stalled because land registration offices are closed.

Maxim and Irina Nefeld, a young Moscow couple, had dreamed about living near the sea for so long that they were on Crimea’s southern coast seeking land on March 18, [the day Mr. Putin announced the annexation](#).

They found a pine-covered lot, a third of an acre with a sea view, for \$60,000. They agreed to buy it, but could not complete the deal without the land office, or find a bank to transfer the money.

The next day the owner asked for \$70,000. Mr. Nefeld went back to Moscow to get it in cash. When he returned on April 10, the landowner demanded \$100,000.

Russian laws leave some groups out in the cold. Russia bans methadone to treat heroin addiction, for example. As local supplies dwindle, the daily dosage for 200 patients at the clinic here has been halved.

“It is our death,” said Alexander, 40, declining to identify himself publicly as a recovering addict. Unaware that methadone was illegal in Russia, he voted for annexation.

Crimeans are occasionally alarmed by armed men in uniforms without insignia who materialize at places like Simferopol’s train station, inspecting luggage and occasionally arresting passengers. Various people detained in protests against the referendum a month ago have not resurfaced.

When confronted, the uniformed men tell Crimeans that they are “activists from the people” who are “preserving order.”

Archbishop Kliment of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, vilified by its Russian counterpart, said Russian priests with armed supporters had threatened to confiscate churches in at least two villages. His 16 priests sent their families and their most valuable icons to the Ukrainian mainland for protection, he said.

Natalia Rudenko, the founding principal of the capital’s one Ukrainian school, said city officials fired her shortly after a member of the self-defense forces visited, demanding to know why the school was still teaching Ukrainian and not flying the Russian flag. Ms. Yurchenko, the tourism minister, said the school could continue to teach Ukrainian, since the new Constitution protected the language, but it would need to add Russian classes.

It is hard to tally the many branches of government not functioning.

Court cases have been frozen because the judges do not know what law to apply. Essential procedures like DNA testing must now be done in Moscow instead of Kiev.

One traffic officer confessed he had no idea what law to enforce — he was being sent to school two hours a day to learn Russian traffic laws.

Lawyers, their previous education now irrelevant, plow through Russian legal textbooks wrestling with the unfamiliar terms. “I won’t be able to compete with young lawyers who come from Russia with diplomas in Russian law,” said Olga Cherevkova, 25, who was previously pursuing a Ph.D. in Ukrainian health care law.

She is weighing whether to abandon the land of her birth, of her identity.

“Maybe I should just pack my suitcase and move to Miami,” she said, laughing, then caught herself. “I am laughing, but it is not really a joke. I want to live in a free country. Still, for me as a lawyer, it is interesting, if a bit strange.”

Correction: April 22, 2014

Because of an editing error, an earlier version of this article misstated the origin of the name of Taurida National University. It derives from Greek history, not Crimean Tatar history.

Nikolay Khalip contributed reporting.

A version of this article appears in print on April 22, 2014, on page A1 of the New York edition with the headline: Under Russia, Life in Crimea Grows Chaotic. [Order Reprints](#)[Today's Paper](#)[Subscribe](#)

Source: http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/22/world/europe/under-russia-life-in-crimea-grows-chaotic.html?_r=0



The line outside the government office in Simferopol, the capital of Crimea, where new Russian passports were being processed. (Photo Credit: James Hill for *The New York Times*)



McDonald's has closed its restaurants in Crimea, citing logistical problems after the region was annexed by Russia. (Photo Credit: James Hill for *The New York Times*)

A Eurasian Union No More?

[Anton Barbashin](#)

The National Interest

April 23, 2014

For the last few years, Russia has eagerly promoted its grand “Eurasian” project, offering deeper economic integration with former Soviet countries. As proposed [by Vladimir Putin](#) in 2011, a Customs Union, or further, a Eurasian Union, was supposed to help the economies of the region flourish by combining their individual strengths and entering the global economy as a strong, consolidated economic entity. Putin officially stated that his proposal was based on a new reality, where to be successful was to be open, transparent and democratic—and had nothing to do with “bringing back the Soviet Union.”

In its original version, the Eurasian Union was supposed to take a good lesson from the European Union in bringing different nations voluntarily under the same roof and most certainly was not focused on any kind of alienation from the rest of the world.

Along with the members of the already established Customs Union—Belarus and Kazakhstan—the key to the success of the project was always Ukraine. Putin, as well as his advisers, clearly understood that without Ukraine, no economic or political cooperation would be sizable enough to be considered a global or even regional center of power. In addition, Ukraine’s historical importance to Russia made the case to use every means possible to win it over. With or without its embattled president Viktor Yanukovich, Ukraine had to be involved in Russia’s new Eurasian project. That is a major reason why, when Kyiv’s ‘Maidan’ revolutionists kicked Yanukovich out of power, Russia attempted to retain its influence in Ukraine.

By the logic of Vladimir Putin and his inner circle, the complete loss of Ukraine to the West would be an incurable illness that would disarm any Russian attempt to recover as a global power. Moreover, Putin feared that Maidan-style protests could at some point spread onto Russia. In his eyes there was no possibility that Kyiv’s new leaders could succeed in reforming their economically stagnant, corruption-riddled state. Moscow had to react, using all capabilities present: propaganda, Russian minorities in Ukraine, military presence if necessary—raising the stakes up to a maximum.

It seems that the West has not understood clearly enough that Ukraine is the single most important entity for Russian aspirations and, yes, for Putin’s legacy. The Kremlin is willing to go to any length necessary not to lose this game.

By pursuing his goals, annexing Crimea and fighting for eastern Ukraine, Putin has ultimately and irrevocably changed the rules of the game and—more important for the future of the region—Russia’s integration proposal to its neighbors.

Putin has always been a realpolitik player—even when it seemed that he was willing to cooperate with the West. Patience has always been his virtue. Now, when his cards are increasingly put on the table, we see that Putin is determined to secure his place in Russia’s history. By unleashing a full-scale media campaign, Putin is proving to Russians and the rest of the world that the results of 1991—namely, the collapse of the Soviet Union—are to be reconsidered. Russia did not lose the war with the West; it merely took a break. Moreover, Putin is proving that the Western way—the liberal governing—is not the only option. In order to reassert Russia’s great-power status, Russia is going back to its imperial roots. And now, the intensity of the situation with Ukraine is calling for decisive actions. Putin played a “Russian civilization” card as an entry pass to the geographical redrawing of the region. In Putin’s eyes, the borders and consensus of 1991 do not work anymore, thus, Russia must do everything it can to secure what it believes belongs to her. And the criteria is very tangible—history, Russian ethnicity or Russian language.

For Vladimir Putin—Ukraine is a zero-sum game. Either he wins and gets what he wants or nobody wins and Ukraine will remain an unstable, economically failing and decentralized state. From the very beginning of the Ukraine crisis, Putin acted with the belief that the West would in the end accept his alterations to the European map. From his fourteen years in power, Putin has learned that the West—especially the EU—is incapable of acting as a single unit and is not willing to make high-risk moves. The Kremlin is convinced that it could act quicker than the West could react. And the Crimean saga has proven him correct. Even today, when it is obvious that Russia is deeply involved in eastern Ukraine, the West is still incapable of responding with a unified voice or decision. In the end, the West will unite and act as a single unit, but it now seems that it will be too little, too late.

The Ukraine crisis made Putin reveal the true nature of his aspirations, now visible to Russia’s neighbors, the West and the rest of the world. The main agenda of Putin’s third term in office is to bring back a Russian Empire-like state; it is not Eurasian, it is decisively Russian. It means that Eurasian integration as designed in the beginning doesn’t work anymore. For those nations involved in or invited to join the Eurasian Union, it is now clear that there can be no equal partnership with Russia, only submission. The question is whether submission is going to be pleasant and economically beneficial to all sides, or rather tough and less pleasant for the incorporated entities.

Putin brilliantly works with history, bringing back thousand-year-old images of the Russian “gathering of lands”, which allows him to sell any political move to the vast majority of the Russian or pro-Russian populations in neighboring countries and at home, making this conflict a civilizational issue. Thus, the new Russian proposition to its neighbors is to unite all that is, in a broader sense, Russian (in the region) under the same flag. The integration process is no more about the economic benefits, but about a civilizational choice and historic mission.

This new state of reality, where there is no more status quo, has won Putin an incredible amount of support in Russia, where [80 percent voiced](#) their approval of Putin’s actions and [63 percent agreed](#) that all power in the country is in the hands of Vladimir Putin and that this is a good thing.

The other members of the Customs Union, Belarus and Kazakhstan, were not prepared or happy to see such a change in Russia’s overall strategy, as both Minsk and Astana participated for the economic benefit rather than for political reasons or to aid Russia’s aspirations for regional dominance. Russia’s closest allies do cherish their political independence and will not easily be convinced to rethink the logic of the last twenty-three years of their independence and political and institutional development.

In the case of Kazakhstan, where the entire northern part of the country is largely populated by ethnic Russians, the new reality calls for new policy and the recalibrating of strategic plans. Kazakh nationalists have [already begun voicing reasonable concerns](#) over Kazakhstan’s future relations with Moscow. And Belarus president Lukashenko gave [mixed signals to both sides](#). Officially, he has supported Russia’s right to take Crimea, but has spoken unfavorably about the federalization or separation of the Ukrainian state. Both presidents Nazarbayev and Lukashenko are spooked by the scale and readiness of Vladimir Putin to press his agenda. In no way will what Putin has envisioned for the region well suit Lukashenko and Nazarbayev, who have spent decades building up their reputations as “fathers of their nations”. The question as to how Minsk and Astana will deal with new Russian politics is still open and depends greatly on how the Ukraine crisis will be resolved.

Putin’s high stakes game risks the long-term wealth of the Russian state—the very asset Putin has used domestically and internationally to promote his vision over the last fourteen years. It is no secret that for the post-Soviet nations, the attractiveness of membership in the Customs Union or Eurasian Union was rooted in Russia’s financial capabilities and fiscal aid. Both Minsk and Astana gladly used the fruits of Russia’s oil and gas Klondike. Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Armenia were certainly looking forward to getting good deals from Russia and using Putin’s “generosity” to its fullest extent.

But as it seems today, Russia’s Ukrainian aspirations are expensive and that cost will only increase with time. Even before the Ukraine crisis, the Russian economy was slowing, with projected GDP growth of only 1.5 percent. [An official April](#) prognosis for 2014’s GDP growth was below 1 percent. Now it seems that, if the conflict continues to escalate and the West continues to levy sanctions on Russia, the Russian economy will start to shrink.

The capital outflow from Russia over the last three months has reached \$75 billion and by the end of the year will most likely top \$200 billion. Obviously, current tensions with the West and escalating sanctions will not bring new investors to the Russian economy. On top of monies already expended for the upkeep of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, Crimea is an additional burden for the state budget. The estimated cost for Crimean integration would be \$4-5 billion per year.

What’s more important in the near future is that Russia will face the necessity to reroute its energy exports away from the EU, which is clearly headed towards acquiring independence from Russia. Currently, Russia’s budget is 55 percent dependent on the gas exports, and, since the EU is the main consumer of Russian energy, Russia’s financial well-being is highly dependent on the EU’s diversification plans. If the EU proceeds with a painful and costly isolation of Russia, [demand for Russian energy will decrease substantially](#). In this scenario, Russia will be forced to look at Asia’s markets for survival.

Considering that for the last twenty years Russia has been focusing on trade with Europe, a quick economic shift to the East is impossible. There is no alternative scenario where Russia does not suffer from its actions in Ukraine, especially in the long run. When the promise of a prosperous tomorrow for the Eurasian economies is gone, Russia will have to rethink its approach to regional integration. But, ultimately, the price of submission will be higher than the price of cooperation.

Ukraine is undoubtedly a turning point that could drastically change the balance of power not only in the region, but also internationally. The future of the Eurasian region is more unclear today than it was twenty years ago and it will most likely remain unclear in the short run.

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Source: <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/eurasian-union-no-more-10321>

The Slender Margin of Safety

By Sir [Anthony Eden](#)

From the [January 1961 Issue](#) of *Foreign Affairs* magazine

SPEAKING at a meeting of Young Conservatives in London this fall, I said that the free world was confused and in considerable danger--greater danger, as I believed, than at any time since 1939. Events since that date have reinforced this warning. **The West is not doing well in the cold war because fundamentally it is not united. It has a common purpose, but no common plan. The initiative is too often with the Communist powers. It is true that they do not always use it intelligently, but we should not take too much comfort from that. News of failures on the part of Communist governments does not reach their peoples in the form and with the consequences applicable in Western countries. The Communist sapping and mining will go on, and the frontal attack upon us will be repeated.**

The margin of safety is now slender. The West has not the defense in depth which it had even in the darkest days of the war. In 1940, when Hitler's forces had swept through Europe past the Channel ports to the Atlantic Ocean, Britain and its Commonwealth partners stood apparently alone. I write "apparently" because westward there was still a mighty power, its faith and its resources unimpaired. Today, the reserves are all engaged, some perhaps not to the best advantage. The free nations have to think and work much more closely together, and do it soon, or the free world will lose out. To be aware of this danger is not to suggest that it need be accepted; but to understand the nature of our peril is a necessary preliminary to meeting it. The purpose of this article is to consider how such a state of affairs has come about and what we can do to mend it.

The death of Stalin marked the end of an era. For a time it seemed as if it would also mark the dawn of a new hope. Stalin's rule had been cautious, powerful and ruthless. Under his direction the alliance of the Second World War became the calculated antagonism of the cold war. When that rule ended, it was uncertain for a while what manner of men would follow him, and momentary optimism was strengthened by events. The most important of these was the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Austria in the summer of 1955, the only concession of real significance made by the Communist powers since the war. It might have heralded other changes, since the stationing of troops in Hungary, for instance, had been accepted by Russia's wartime allies only while Hungary was the corridor to occupied Austria.

The criticism of Stalin's conduct of affairs indulged in by Mr. Khrushchev, who was the more pungent personality in the partnership with Bulganin which succeeded Stalin, also encouraged expectation of less rigid policies in the Kremlin. At least it seemed wise to meet the new men and probe the possibilities. The outcome was the first summit, in July 1955. Apart from some momentary help in relaxing tension in the Far East, this meeting marked no sufficient change in Soviet temper, while at the Foreign Secretaries' Conference which followed in the autumn, Molotov's embattled negatives were again those of the Stalin era. Since then successive events, through Hungary to the predictable failure of the second summit, have unmistakably reaffirmed Soviet policies and purposes. There can be no excuse for failing to understand them now.

Khrushchev believes that the days of the free world, or, as he would describe them, of the capitalist imperialists, are numbered. He will do what he can to shorten their term, pressing existing advantages and probing for new ones in every continent. When the Kremlin now speaks of peaceful coexistence, we all understand that this means communizing the world without war. It does not exclude the use of other methods where non-forcible means do not bring success. To be fair, the aim of the international Communist movement is not concealed. It is to overthrow every existing authority, religion or economic system which stands in the way of bringing the world under Communist power and control. In pursuit of this objective all tactics are legitimate and all double talk is justified. Thus it is possible for Khrushchev to speak at the General Assembly of the United Nations about the aim of the democracies, meaning the totalitarian Communist powers, to liberate all colonial peoples everywhere. He can do this with acclaim, despite the fact that the Soviet Government is itself in political default to the United Nations. Four years ago that Government refused to accept any one of the United Nations resolutions in respect of Hungary, or even to admit its Secretary-General or his representative onto Hungarian territory. In 1960 the Hungarian dictator, imposed by Soviet arms at the expense of thousands of Hungarian lives, goes to the United Nations in Khrushchev's train and is accepted as that unhappy country's representative. It only remains for Mr. Kadar to make a speech against colonialism.

As a result of these tactics, the Soviet leaders hope to persuade some easily deluded persons to forget inconvenient facts. Since 1940 the Western European powers have voluntarily agreed to the independence of 18 different countries with a population of more than 600,000,000 people. During the same period the Communist countries have brought under their rule 12 previously free countries with a population of more than 200,000,000. The Communist deed is even more harsh than these figures tell, because many of these nations had long lived their own free and independent lives, contributing their part in a tolerant civilization. Yet some of the so-called neutral governments can inveigh unblushingly against Western colonialism without

reproof, while borrowing Western money without hesitation. In such conditions it is hardly surprising if newly independent nations are confused. There may be confusion in our thought too.

In the early days of October 1956, before Britain and France intervened, the American Secretary of State could see colonialism in the Anglo-French reaction to the seizure of an international canal, even though the plan to restore international control had been endorsed by the principal maritime nations, including the United States. In 1957 Indonesia seized Dutch shipping and held it without compensation. Today the United States finds itself accused of imperialism in Cuba and its extensive properties are grabbed. Robbery does not cease to be such because it is the goods of another nation that are seized in the name of nationalization or its equivalent. There is no present reason to suppose that these practices will lack future imitators elsewhere, yet we have no determined policies as to how to act towards them. For instance, the World Bank rightly declines to make advances to nations which are in financial default, yet no such condition is imposed upon nations which are in political default on their international engagements.

In the last three years, the denial of passage through the Suez Canal, previously enforced illegally against Israeli shipping, has been extended to Israeli goods in transit in the ships of other countries; this despite the many pledges given by the highest world authorities in 1957. According to these, interference with Israeli shipping was not expected to continue, and, if it did, the United Nations would deal with it. Such optimistic expectations have not been fulfilled. The lesson is clear to read. If breaches of international conduct are condoned in one part of the world, they are sure to be repeated in another. To meet these occasions as they multiply and are enthusiastically cheered on by the Communist powers, agreed policies as to financial aid and many other matters will have to be devised by the victims.

All previous experience of militant dictatorships shows that they cannot be bribed from their courses. On the contrary, the more lavish this treatment, the more attractive do the smaller but hungry autocrats become to Communist dictatorships with ambitions for world dominion. **But the firmer the resistance to unreasonable demands, the more respect will be won, and respect is a more powerful magnet than money.**

The free nations must convince themselves that the Communist dictatorships are determined to seize every advantage to increase their power and press it remorselessly to the end. For this they will abuse any instruments to hand, including the United Nations. The Communist threat to the remaining liberties of the free world is absolute. Unless the West understands and accepts this, its policies will be ineffective and its survival in peril. But even the resources of the West are not inexhaustible and their percipient use is essential; economic appeasement is no more pardonable than its political counterpart.

A realization of this truth does not mean that we should refuse diplomatic contacts or political discussion with powers behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, but it does mean the exercise of the utmost caution as to how and at what level these contacts should be made. Summit conferences should be the exception and not the rule. In certain circumstances they can be useful for general discussion, or to set a climate for negotiation. They are not suitable for detailed diplomacy or for the negotiation of specific problems. These are tasks for Foreign Secretaries or for the normal methods of diplomacy. The fact that Moscow is impatient of such methods does not mean that we should forego them. There was nothing in the experience of the second summit to encourage a third without detailed preparation and indications of chances of agreement, of which there is no sign.

If the West is to conduct itself to the best advantage against the new offensives which we expect from the Communist powers, certain essential conditions must be observed. First, we have to abandon wishful thinking as an influence upon our action. It may be that in the course of time differences between the two most powerful Communist states, Russia and China, will grow and even lead at length to serious political conflict. No man can be sure that this will happen, still less foretell how long it will take. It would be fatal to freedom to base policies on such an expectation. Internal conditions in Russia, and the demand for a greater share of the improved conditions of life which the West now enjoys, may one day exert an influence upon the Kremlin's policies. None can tell when or how important that influence may prove to be. Once again it could be fatal to base any policies upon it.

The only premise upon which the free world can prudently found its decisions and form its practices is that the cold war will continue, that the purpose of the Communist rulers is to dominate the world, and that free men everywhere must organize their lives and effort to combat that determination, if the faith they cherish is to survive. Faced with this challenge, the free nations must unite and integrate more closely than ever before in war or peace. This will not be easy to do, for it requires a pooling of resources, economic as well as political, to an extent we have not yet begun to realize. We have to agree on plans and execute them jointly in every continent, by methods which we explain together, if not in the same words, at least in the same tone and with the same purpose.

It is not possible to limit our joint policies to Western Europe, but it is indispensable to stand firm there. If Communist power were to gain control of the human and industrial resources of this area, its domination of the world could hardly be resisted. But to be firm and united in Europe is not enough. Asia and Africa present greater complexities. Here it is necessary to speak plainly. The bogey of colonialism has done fearful damage to the Western alliance. It has created misunderstanding in the United States of the policies of the Western allies, who were once great colonial powers. It has created anxiety among those allies when interests, which seem to them vital not only to themselves but to the free world, appear to be regarded as expendable by the United States.

This state of affairs can be brought to an end only by some sacrifice of opinion and authority on either side of the Atlantic. My own country, to take only one example, has for long been working on plans in Africa to bring the peoples there to self-government. France has done the same in the greater part of her former African territories. If the policies we have declared and the successive actions we have proposed to give effect to them are approved in the United States, there should be the closest unity in their execution in the remaining colonial territories. Neither you nor we must attempt to forestall the other, nor to get credit at the expense of the other, nor to belittle the sincerity of the other. Our policies and the help we give, financial and economic, should be related and complementary. All this is difficult to do, but it has to be done if Africa is to emerge into a new life and not be an example of the disunity of the West, creating opportunities for Communism. It has also to be done if the suspicions which today weaken the Western alliance are not to undermine it.

First the United States has to consider the policies which the former colonial nations are pursuing to further the self-government of their territories. If there is agreement upon these, Western unity would be helped by United States action to work out in company with the colonial nations the degree and timing of economic aid or direct financial assistance. Certainly this would have to be related to the activities of the World Bank, but there is room for both. For a former colony to make a success of its independence, education in government, science and industry is indispensable. But this education cannot be forced beyond a certain pace and can be paid for only if there is a taxable capacity in the country. This in turn means a coöordinated and enlightened investment policy pursued over the years. Neither education nor income alone is enough, as the Congo has shown. Both are needed and neither can be skimmed or we shall have more Congos.

The joint effort of the United States and Britain has to be improved in another sphere. The demand is not extravagant if it is understood that we are engaged in a contest for the survival of a free civilization, calling for as sagacious and complete a use of our resources as did the Second World War. At that time what we had to say to the world was attuned. It should be now. A confusion of voices weakens our message, which is still fundamentally the same, and the sum of its impact on uncommitted nations, if intelligently related, can be much more than the influence of our separate efforts. To realize this, some central coördination is necessary.

The mechanics called for to give effect to closer relationships are important, but they are not impossible to contrive. There should be some organization, probably in Washington, perhaps in Paris to be near NATO, led at a high level, which would make possible the integration of our political and economic policies and their propaganda content and methods, to a greater extent than is provided by the joint standing group in military affairs today. An example of what can be done is the Organization for European Economic Coöperation, a little advertised but most effective promoter of prosperity. Its authority, scope and opportunity will be enlarged beyond reckoning if, as we hope, the United States and Canada now become full members of its successor organization. A closely allied effort in the atomic world and in that which reaches beyond it into space should be made, comparable to the one created between the United States, Canada and ourselves in the war. I doubt whether military planners on either side of the Atlantic are content with the extent and quality of their coöperation; they should not be. The Western alliance needs a joint group to plan policy. That group should reappraise military policies and requirements now that there is a balance of nuclear power. NATO should be associated with this work and the findings should be made available to that body. No single power can go it alone as well as it can go it in company.

Most serious is the health of NATO, which is not robust. This is in no sense the fault of its politically experienced Secretary General, M. Spaak, or of its Commander, General Norstad; both men have been attentive and loyal. The fault lies in events outside their control. At the time of writing (November 1, 1960), there are four nuclear powers in the world; there may soon be more. The deterrent is possessed individually by two members of NATO and seems imminent in a third; it is not surprising that there should be a desire that the alliance as such should command some part of it also. With the probable extension of nuclear power outside NATO, we must expect this desire to grow, and it is perfectly natural that it should. NATO needs body, and would have it if it could become a nuclear power. Admittedly, such a proposal presents difficulties, not least in the imperative necessity that may arise for prompt action, which a spread of authority could weaken fatally. Nor must the part played by conventional forces be reduced, or these allowed to dwindle to an extent which would make the organization unrealistic.

On the other hand, it should be possible to work out plans which would give to NATO membership as a whole the sense that it has direct control of some nuclear power. There are indisputable objections to handing over the command of formidable nuclear

weapons widely to individual NATO members, but these difficulties could be met by integrated international nuclear units which might be recruited from different NATO countries. There may be other alternatives. The essential is to determine methods which would give the alliance renewed life and meaning. This is necessary if we are to deal effectively with a psychological weakness which is undermining confidence. **No single member of NATO likes to feel that for his protection he is dependent upon the decision of one, two or maybe three powers to come to his aid at the critical hour, or it could be the critical minute. Mr. Henry A. Kissinger writes of the problems of peacemaking after the Napoleonic Wars, and gives a warning which is applicable today: "To be dependent on the continued goodwill of another sovereign state is demoralizing, because it is a confession of impotence, an invitation to the irresponsibility induced by the conviction that events cannot be affected by one's will."**[i]

I have no doubt that some of the feeling against the United States, which unhappily exists and is probably growing in a number of Western nations, is due to the sentiment that the survival of NATO members depends upon action principally by one member employing, or threatening to employ, weapons which most of them have not got. This idea may be unreasonable, but it is important to be rid of it. An alliance can only mature or decay. The essential is to give NATO the body it lacks today, and some revival of its authority is the only way.

Even more important than this better planning and better execution of our plans is the need for a revival of the faith of the free world. Our material resources are still greater than those of the Communist powers, and the ultimate result cannot be in doubt if our belief is as strong. This is not only a crisis of policies for the West. It is also a crisis of confidence in its own values. If we can reinforce this confidence, we shall still need the unity to express it. If we do not draw closer together quickly, we shall drift until we are apart suddenly. This is the choice. The alternative is more deadly than any we have known. To quote the words of Sydney Smith written in the summer of 1804: "A greater contest than that in which we are engaged, the world has never seen; for we are not fighting the battle of our country alone, but we are fighting to decide the question; whether there shall be any more freedom upon the earth."

[i] "A World Restored." Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957, p. 316.

Source: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/71595/sir-anthony-eden/the-slender-margin-of-safety>

Prominent Yale University Graduates and Their Occupation in 2014



Jay Carney
B.A. Yale 1987
White House Press
Secretary (2011-2014)



Samantha Power
B.A. Yale 1992
U.S. Representative to
the United Nations
(2013-present)



John Forbes Kerry
B.A. Yale 1966
U.S. Secretary of State
(2013-present)



Stephen W. Preston
B.A. Yale 1979
General Counsel of the
U.S. Department of
Defense (2013-present)



Donald Verrilli Jr.
B.A. Yale 1979
Solicitor General of the
United States
(June 9, 2011-present)



Alexander R. Vershbow
B.A. Yale 1974
Deputy Secretary-General
of NATO (2012-present);
**U.S. Ambassador to
Russia (2001-2005)**



Jeffrey Bewkes
B.A. Yale 1974
Chairman of the board of
Time Warner
(2009-present)



Frederick W. Smith
B.A. Yale 1966
Chairman of the board of
FedEx Corp.
(1975-present)



W. James McNerney, Jr.
B.A. Yale 1971
Chairman of the board of
Boeing (2005-present)



William D. Nordhaus
B.A. Yale 1963
Chairman of the Federal
Reserve Bank of Boston
(2014-present)



Robert "Bob" Woodward
B.A. Yale 1965
Washington Post reporter
(1971-present) and best-
selling author



Robert W. Kagan
B.A. Yale 1980
Columnist for *The
Washington Post*; Co-
Founder of Project for the
New American Century



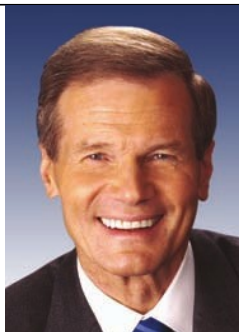
Gary Locke
B.A. Yale 1972
U.S. Ambassador to
Communist China
(2011-2014)



Fareed Zakaria
B.A. 1986
Editor of *Newsweek
International*;
Director of Council on
Foreign Relations
(2004-present)



Anderson Cooper
B.A. Yale 1989
CNN reporter (2001-
present); anchor of
Anderson Cooper 360°
(2003-present)



Bill Nelson
B.A. Yale 1965
U.S. Senator
(D-Florida, 2001-present)



Sheldon Whitehouse
B.A. Yale 1978
U.S. Senator
(D-Rhode Island,
2007-present)



Sherrod Brown
B.A. Yale 1974
U.S. Senator
(D-Ohio, 2007-present)



Amy Klobuchar
B.A. Yale 1982
U.S. Senator
(D-Minnesota,
2007-present)



Mark Dayton
B.A. Yale 1969
Governor of Minnesota
(2011-present)

Prominent Yale University Graduates and Their Occupation during the Russo-Ukrainian War (2014-present)

Government Officials:

John Forbes Kerry (B.A. 1966, S&B 1966) – U.S. Secretary of State (February 1, 2013-present)
Jay Carney (B.A. 1987) – White House Press Secretary (2011-2014)
Donald Verrilli Jr. (B.A. 1979) – Solicitor General of the United States (June 9, 2011-present)
Stephen W. Preston (B.A. 1979) – General Counsel of the U.S. Department of Defense (2013-present)
Stevan E. Bunnell (B.A. 1982) – General Counsel of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (2013-present)
Gary Locke (B.A. 1972) – U.S. Ambassador to Communist China (August 1, 2011-February 28, 2014)
Charles H. Rivkin (B.A. 1984) – Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs (2014-present)
Samantha Power (B.A. 1992, J.D. Harvard 1999) – U.S. Representative to the United Nations (August 2, 2013-present)
Joseph Verner Reed Jr. (B.A. 1961) – Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations (1992-present)
Alexander R. Vershbow (B.A. 1974) – Deputy Secretary-General of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (2012-present); U.S. Ambassador to South Korea (2005-2008); U.S. Ambassador to Russia (2001-2005)
Ellen L. Weintraub (B.A. 1979?) – Commissioner of Federal Election Commission (2002-present)

Bill Nelson (B.A. 1965) – U.S. Senator (Democrat-Florida, 2001-present)
Sheldon Whitehouse (B.A. 1978) – U.S. Senator (Democrat-Rhode Island, 2007-present)
Sherrod Brown (B.A. 1974) – U.S. Senator (Democrat-Ohio, 2007-present)
Amy Klobuchar (B.A. 1982) – U.S. Senator (Democrat-Minnesota, 2007-present)
Lamar S. Smith (B.A. 1969) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Texas, 1987-present)
Sheila Jackson-Lee (B.A. 1972) – U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Texas, 1995-present)
John Yarmuth (B.A. 1969) – U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Kentucky, 2007-present)
Mark Dayton (B.A. 1969) – Governor of Minnesota (2011-present)
John "Jack" Dalrymple (B.A. 1970) – Governor of North Dakota (2010-present)
Susan Bysiewicz (B.A. 1983) – Secretary of State of Connecticut (1999-present)

Barrington D. Parker Jr. (B.A. 1965, LL.B. 1969) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (2001-present)
Richard A. Posner (B.A. 1959) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit (1981-present)
Brett M. Kavanaugh (B.A. 1987) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for District of Columbia Circuit (2006-present)
George B. Daniels (B.A. 1975) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York [New York City] (2000-present)
Edgardo Ramos (B.A. 1982) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York [New York City] (2011-present)
James Knoll Gardner (B.A. 1962) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania [Philadelphia] (2002-present)
Douglas P. Woodlock (B.A. 1969, S&B 1969) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts [Boston] (1986-present)
Robert Michael Dow Jr. (B.A. 1987) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois [Chicago] (2007-present)
Richard G. Seeborg (B.A. 1978) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California [San Francisco] (2010-present)
William Horsley Orrick III (B.A. 1976) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California [San Francisco] (2013-present)
Denise Page Hood (B.A. 1974) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan [Detroit] (1994-present)
Myron Herbert Thompson (B.A. 1969, J.D. 1972) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Alabama (1980-present)
John W. Lungstrum (B.A. 1967) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Kansas (1991-present)
James O. Browning (B.A. 1978) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of New Mexico (2003-present)
Dora L. Irizarry (B.A. 1976) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York (2004-present)
James Emanuel Boasberg (B.A. 1985, J.D. 1990, S&B 1985) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia (2011-present)
Kevin Charles McNulty (B.A. 1976) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of New Jersey (2012-present)
Jesus Gilberto Bernal (B.A. 1986) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California (December 12, 2012-present)
Raymond Paul Moore (B.A. 1975, J.D. 1978) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Colorado [Denver] (2013-present)
Jeffrey Alker Meyer (B.A. 1985, J.D. 1989) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Connecticut (February 25, 2014-present)
Christopher Reid Cooper (B.A. 1988) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia (March 28, 2014-present)

Corporate Executives and Bankers:

W. James (Jim) McNerney, Jr. (B.A. 1971) – Chairman of the board of Boeing [airplane company] (2005-present)
Jeffrey L. Bewkes (B.A. 1974) – Chairman of the board of Time Warner [media company] (2009-present)
Frederick W. Smith (B.A. 1966) – Chairman of the board of Federal Express [FedEx Corp.] (1975-present)
Stephen M. Cutler (B.A. 1982, J.D. 1985) – Executive Vice President and General Counsel of JP Morgan Chase & Co. [bank] (2007-present)
Roderick A. Palmore (B.A. 1974) – Executive Vice President and General Counsel of General Mills, Inc. (2008-present)
William D. Nordhaus (B.A. 1963, S&B 1963) – Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston (2014-present)
David Marshall (B.A. 1972) – Senior Vice President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago (2006-present)
Eli Whitney Debevoise II (B.A. 1974) – U.S. Executive Director of The World Bank (2007-present)

Journalists:

Robert B. Semple Jr. (B.A. 1959) – Associate Editor of the Editorial Page of *The New York Times* (1988-present)
Robert Greeley Kaiser (B.A. 1964) – Associate Editor and Senior Correspondent at *The Washington Post* (1998-present)
Robert U. "Bob" Woodward (B.A. 1965) – *Washington Post* reporter (1971-present) and best-selling author
Robert W. Kagan (B.A. 1980, S&B 1980) – Columnist for *The Washington Post*; Co-Founder of the Project for the New American Century
Fareed Zakaria (B.A. 1986, S&K 1986) – Editor of Newsweek International; Director of Council on Foreign Relations (2004-present)
Anderson Cooper (B.A. 1989) – CNN reporter (2001-present); anchor of *Anderson Cooper 360°* (2003-present)

Organization Executives:

Richard E. Salomon (B.A. 1964) – Vice Chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations (2007-present)
Strobe Talbott (B.A. 1968) – President of The Brookings Institution (2002-present)
Carl Gershman (B.A. 1965) – President of the National Endowment for Democracy (1984-present)

Wall Street Lawyers:

Robert B. Fiske, Jr. (B.A. 1952) – Of Counsel of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (2010-present)
Guy Miller Struve (B.A. 1963, LL.B. Harvard 1966) – Of Counsel of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (2013-present)
Bradley Y. Smith (B.A. 1970) – Of Counsel of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (2013-present)
Patrick S. Kenadjian (B.A. 1970) – Of Counsel of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (2010-present)
D. Scott Wise (B.A. 1974) – Of Counsel of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (2011-present)
Paul W. Bartel, II (B.A. 1975) – Of Counsel of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (2010-present)
John M. Brandow (B.A. 1975) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1989-present)
Danforth Townley (B.A. 1979; J.D. 1985) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1994-present)
Mario J. Verdolini (B.A. 1985) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1997-present)
Harry Ballan (B.A. 1981; Ph.D. 1986) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1999-present)
Daniel G. Kelly, Jr. (B.A. 1973) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1999-present)
Jean M. McLoughlin (B.A. 1988) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (2001-present)

Gandolfo V. DiBlasi (B.A. 1975; J.D. 1978) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1985-present)
David F. Morrison (B.A. 1974) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1986-present)
Robert S. Risoleo (B.A. 1980; J.D. 1984) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1992-present)
William F. Kroener III (B.A. 1967) – General Counsel of FDIC (1995-2006); Counsel of Sullivan & Cromwell (2006-present)
Gregory A. Weiss (B.A. 1966) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1976-present)
Glenn M. Reiter (B.A. 1973, J.D. 1976) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1984-present)
Sarah E. Cogan (B.A. 1978) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1989-present)
David A. Sneider (B.A. 1979) – Partner of Simpson Thacher & Bartlett (1994-present)
Roger J. Baneman (B.A. 1972) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling (1985-present)
Antonia E. Stolper (B.A. 1979) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling
Michael J. Kennedy (B.A. 1981) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling

Rory O. Millson (B.A. 1973; J.D. 1977, B.A. Oxford 1975 (S. African Rhodes Scholar)) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (1984-present)
Rachel G. Skaistis (B.A. 1992) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (2005-present)
Paul H. Zumbro (B.A. 1992) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (2005-present)
Antony L. Ryan (B.A. 1992; J.D. Harvard 1995) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (2003-present)
Gary A. Bornstein (B.A. 1994; J.D. Harvard 1997) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (2005-present)
Robert W. Sheehan (B.A. Yale) – Partner of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle (as of 2014)
Turner P. Smith (B.A. Yale) – Partner of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle (as of 2014)
Matias A. Vega (B.A. Yale) – Partner of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle (as of 2014)
Albert Francke (B.A. 1956) – Partner (1968-?) and Of Counsel of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle (as of 2014)

David F. Williams (B.A. 1974) – Partner of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft [Washington, D.C. office] (as of 2014)
Diana de Brito (B.A. 1979) – Partner of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft [Washington, D.C. office] (as of 2014)
Gregory P. Patti Jr. (B.A. Yale) – Partner of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft [New York City office]; former partner at O'Melveny & Myers
Hal S. Shafelt (B.A. 1986; J.D. 1989) – Partner of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft [New York City office] (as of 2014)
Jonathan M. Wainwright (B.A. 1965) – Senior Counsel of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft (as of 2014)
Michael A. McCormack (B.A. 1991) – Special Counsel of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft (as of 2014)
David W. Rivkin (B.A. 1977; J.D. 1980) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1988-present)
Michael W. Blair (B.A. 1977) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1989-present)
Scott A. Edelman (B.A. Yale; M.A. Yale) – Partner (and Vice Chairman) of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy (1995-present)
Andrew E. Tomback (B.A. Yale, J.D. Yale) – Partner of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy (1996-present)
Toby S. Myerson (B.A. 1971) – Partner of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (1983-1989, 1990-present)
Jerome A. Cohen (B.A. 1951; J.D. 1955) – Of Counsel of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (2000-present); Professor of Law at New York University School of Law (1990-present)
Charles H. Critchlow (B.A. 1972) – Partner of Baker & McKenzie [law firm in New York City] (2005-present)
Thomas J. Rice (B.A. 1982) – Partner of Baker & McKenzie [law firm in New York City] (c.2013-present)
Angela J. Walitt (B.A. 1991) – Partner of Baker & McKenzie [law firm in New York City] (c.2013-present)
Donald Schapiro (B.A. 1944; LL.B. 1949) – Partner of Chadbourne & Parke [law firm in New York City] (1988-present)
Robert William Brundige Jr. (B.A. 1966) – Partner of Hughes, Hubbard & Reed [law firm in New York City] (1987-present)
John M. Townsend (B.A. 1968, J.D., 1971) – Partner and Co-Chair of Hughes, Hubbard & Reed [law firm in New York City]

Other Corporate Lawyers:

Michael P. Boudett (B.A. 1988, J.D. Harvard 1991) – Partner of Foley Hoag [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)
David R. Pierson (B.A. 1973, J.D. Harvard 1978) – Partner of Foley Hoag [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)
Daniel Marx (B.A. Yale, J.D. Yale) – Partner of Foley Hoag [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)
Robert E. Toone (B.A. 1991, J.D. 1995) – Partner of Foley Hoag [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)
Donald R. Ware (B.A. Yale) – Partner of Foley Hoag [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)
F. Davis Dassori (B.A. 1963, LL.B. 1968) – Partner of Choate Hall & Stewart [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)
W. Brewster Lee (B.A. 1979) – Partner of Choate Hall & Stewart [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)
F. Davis Dassori (B.A. 1963, LL.B. 1968) – Partner of Choate Hall & Stewart [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)
W. Brewster Lee (B.A. 1979) – Partner of Choate Hall & Stewart [law firm in Boston] (as of 2014)
Scott J. Davis (B.A. 1972) – Partner of Mayer Brown [Chicago] (1983-present)
David Alan Richards (B.A. 1967, J.D. 1972, S&B 1967) – Partner of McCarter & English [law firm in New York City] (2001-present)
Donald Etra (B.A. 1968, S&B 1968) – Head of *Law Offices of Donald Etra* in Los Angeles (1995-present)
Jonathan C. Rose (B.A. 1963, S&B 1963) – Partner of Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue [Washington, D.C.] (1977-1981, 1984-present)
Allen C. Goolsby (B.A. 1961) – Partner of Hunton & Williams [Richmond, Virginia] (1975-present)
Andrea Bear Field (B.A. 1971) – Partner of Hunton & Williams [Washington, D.C.] (1991-present)

Kell Marsh Damsgaard (B.A. 1971) – Partner of Morgan, Lewis & Bockius [Philadelphia] (1981-present)
 Robert L. Abramowitz (B.A. 1971) – Partner of Morgan, Lewis & Bockius [Philadelphia] (1990-present)
 Gene J. Oshman (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1983) – Partner of Baker Botts [Houston, Texas] (1990-present)
 J. David Kirkland Jr. (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1983) – Partner of Baker Botts [Houston, Texas]
 Peter R. Taft (B.A. 1958; LL.B., 1961, S&K 1958) – Partner of Munger, Tolles & Olson [Los Angeles] (1969-present)

College Administrators:

David L. Boren (B.A. 1963, S&B 1963, RS) – President of University of Oklahoma (1994-present)
 Richard H. Brodhead (B.A. 1968, Ph.D. 1972) – President of Duke University [North Carolina] (2004-present)
 Steven Knapp (B.A. 1973) – President of George Washington University (2007-present)
 Marvin Krislov (B.A. 1982, J.D. 1988) – President of Oberlin College [Ohio] (2007-present)
 Michael A. Bernstein (B.A. 1976, Ph.D. 1982) – Provost of Tulane University (2007-present)
 David M. Schizer (B.A. 1990; M.A. 1990; J.D. 1993) – Dean of Columbia Law School (2004-present)
 Mary Elizabeth Magill (B.A. 1988) – Dean of Stanford Law School (2012-present)
 Avi Soifer (B.A. 1969, J.D. 1972) – Dean of William S. Richardson School of Law at the University of Hawaii (2003-present)
 Robert J. Sternberg (B.A. 1972) – Dean of Tufts University School of Arts and Sciences (2005-present)

Akhil Reed Amar (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1984) – Sterling Professor of Law at Yale Law School (1993-present)
 Ian Ayres (B.A. 1981, J.D. 1986) – William K. Townsend Professor of Law at Yale Law School
 Daniel Markovits (B.A. 1991, J.D. 2000) – Professor of Law at Yale Law School (2007-present)
 Reva Siegel (B.A. 1978; J.D. 1986) – Nicholas deB. Katzenbach Professor of Law at Yale Law School (1999-present)
 James Q. Whitman (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1988) – Ford Foundation Professor of Comparative and Foreign Law at Yale Law School (1996-present)
 John Fabian Witt (B.A. 1994, J.D. 1999, Ph.D. 2000) – Professor of Law at Yale Law School
 Alvin C. Warren (B.A. 1966) – Professor of Law at Harvard Law School (1980-present)
 Jeffrey N. Gordon (B.A. 1971) – Alfred W. Bressler Professor of Law at Columbia Law School (1998-present)
 Lance Liebman (B.A. 1962) – William S. Beinecke Professor of Law at Columbia Law School (1998-present)

Brian C. Murchison (B.A. 1974, J.D. 1979, S&B 1974) – Professor of Law at Washington and Lee University School of Law (1990-present)
 *Marvin Zonis (B.A. 1958) – Professor of Behavioral Sciences at the University of Chicago (1989-present)
 Susan N. Gary (B.A. 1977) – Orlando John and Marian H. Hollis Professor of Law at University of Oregon School of Law (2008-present)
 Tom Lininger (B.A. 1988) – Orlando John and Marian H. Hollis Professor of Law at University of Oregon School of Law (c.2003-present)
 Joseph A. Grundfest (B.A. 1973) – William A. Franke Professor of Law and Business at Stanford University (1997-present)
 Pamela S. Karlan (B.A. 1980, J.D. 1984) – Kenneth and Harle Montgomery Professor of Public Interest Law at Stanford Univ. (1999-present)
 Paul Krugman (B.A. 1974) – Professor of Economics and International Affairs at Princeton University (2000-present)
 Michael Mandelbaum (B.A. 1968) – Christian A. Herter Professor of American Foreign Policy at The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (1990-present)

Note: S&B=Skull & Bones, RS=Rhodes Scholar, S&K=Scroll & Key



David L. Boren
 B.A. Yale 1963
 President of University of
 Oklahoma (1994-present)



Strobe Talbott
 B.A. Yale 1968
 President of The
 Brookings Institution
 (2002-present)



Lamar S. Smith
 B.A. Yale 1969
 U.S. Congressman
 (R-Texas, 1987-present)

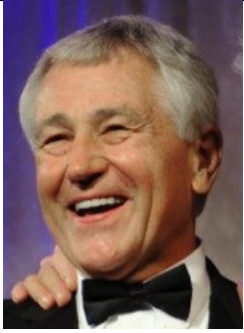


David M. Schizer
 B.A. Yale 1990;
 J.D. Yale 1993
 Dean of Columbia Law
 School (2004-present)



Mary Elizabeth Magill
 B.A. Yale 1988
 Dean of Stanford Law
 School (2012-present)

Prominent Members of the Council on Foreign Relations



Chuck Hagel
U.S. Secretary of Defense
(2013-present)



John Forbes Kerry
U.S. Secretary of State
(2013-present)
Skull & Bones



William J. Burns
Deputy U.S. Secretary of
State (2011-present);
U.S. Ambassador to
Russia (2005-2008)



Michael McFaul
U.S. Ambassador to
Russia (2012-2014)
Rhodes Scholar



Susan E. Rice
National Security Advisor
(2013-present)
Rhodes Scholar



James B. Cunningham
U.S. Ambassador to
Afghanistan (2012-pres.);
U.S. Ambassador to Israel
(2008-2011)



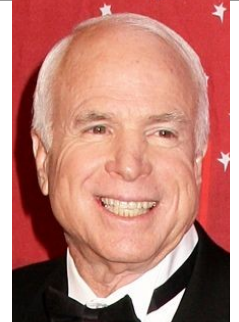
Richard L. Morningstar
U.S. Ambassador to
Azerbaijan (2012-present)



(Lt. Gen.) Douglas E. Lute
U.S. Representative to
NATO (2013-present)



Raymond E. Mabus
Secretary of the Navy
(2009-present)



John McCain
U.S. Senator
(Republican-Arizona,
1987-present)



Robert M. Gates
Director of Central
Intelligence Agency
(1991-1993);
U.S. Secretary of Defense
(2006-2011)



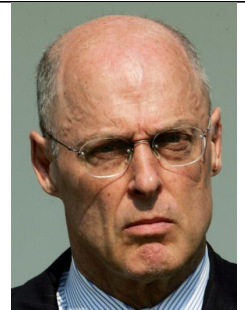
Timothy F. Geithner
Secretary of the Treasury
(2009-2013); President of
the Federal Reserve Bank
of New York (2003-2009)



Dick Cheney
Vice President of the U.S.
(2001-2009);
U.S. Secretary of Defense
(1989-1993)



Condoleezza Rice
U.S. Secretary of State
(2005-2009);
National Security Advisor
(2001-2005)



Henry M. Paulson Jr.
Chairman of the board of
Goldman Sachs (1999-
2006); Secretary of the
Treasury (2006-2009)



Carlos E. Pascual
U.S. Ambassador to
Ukraine (2000-2003);
U.S. Ambassador to
Mexico (2009-2011)



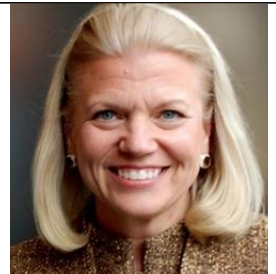
Thomas R. Pickering
U.S. Rep. to the United
Nations (1989-1992);
U.S. Ambassador to
Russia (1993-1996)



Jamie Dimon
Chairman of the board of
JP Morgan Chase [bank]
(2007-present)



Randall L. Stephenson
Chairman, CEO, and
President of AT&T
(2007-present)



Virginia M. Rometty
Chairman, President, and
CEO of IBM
(2012-present)

Prominent Jewish Members of the Council on Foreign Relations



Henry A. Kissinger
U.S. Secretary of State
(1973-1977)



Stanley Fischer
Vice Chairman of the
Federal Reserve
(2014-present);
Governor of the Bank of
Israel (2005-2013)



Janet L. Yellen
Chairman of the Federal
Reserve (2014-present)



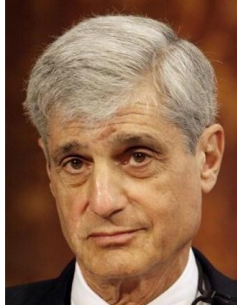
Jacob J. Lew
Secretary of the Treasury
(2013-present)



Penny Pritzker
U.S. Secretary of
Commerce
(2013-present)



Paul D. Wolfowitz
President of The World
Bank (2005-2007);
Deputy Secretary of
Defense (2001-2005)



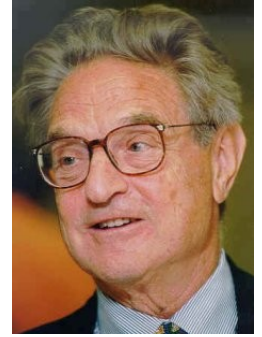
Robert E. Rubin
Partner of Goldman,
Sachs & Co. (1971-1992);
Secretary of the Treasury
(1995-1999)



Lloyd C. Blankfein
Chairman of the board of
Goldman Sachs [bank]
(2006-present)



James D. Wolfensohn
President of the World
Bank (1995-2005)



George Soros
Chairman of Soros Fund
Management (1996-pres.)



Richard N. Haass
President of the Council
on Foreign Relations
(2003-present)



Ronald S. Lauder
President of World Jewish
Congress (2007-present)



Abraham H. Foxman
National Director of the
Anti-Defamation League
(ADL) (1987-present)



Malcolm Hoenlein
Executive Vice Chairman
of Conference of
Presidents of Major
American Jewish
Organizations



Dianne Feinstein
U.S. Senator
(Democrat-California,
1992-present)



Charles Krauthammer
Syndicated Columnist for
The Washington Post
(1984-present)



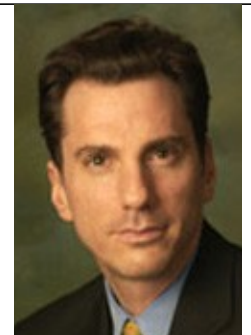
Thomas L. Friedman
Foreign Affairs Columnist
of *The New York Times*
(1995-present)



Robert W. Kagan
Columnist for *The
Washington Post*;
**husband of Assistant
U.S. Secretary of State
Victoria Nuland**



Rupert Murdoch
Chairman and CEO of
News Corp. (Fox News)
(1991-present)



Lee A. Feinstein
U.S. Ambassador to
Poland (2009-2012)



Henry Kissinger (left), former U.S. Secretary of State, appears with Robert E. Rubin, Co-Chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations and former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury at a Council on Foreign Relations meeting. Henry Kissinger and Robert E. Rubin attended the 2013 Bilderberg Meetings held at The Grove in Watford, England from June 6-9, 2013. Henry Kissinger and Robert E. Rubin attended the Bilderberg Meetings conferences together from 2010 until 2014.
(Photo: [Council on Foreign Relations 2013 Annual Report](#))

Council on Foreign Relations Members and Their Occupation during the Crimean Crisis (February 2014-present)

| Name | CFR Membership (Year) | Occupation |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| Bankers: | | |
| Lloyd C. Blankfein | 2009-present | Chairman of the board of Goldman Sachs (2006-present) |
| James “Jamie” Dimon | 2000-present | Chairman of the board of JP Morgan Chase (2007-present) |
| Kenneth M. Jacobs | 2010-present | Chairman of the board of Lazard Freres (2009-present) |
| Kenneth Chenault | 1989-present | Chairman of the board of American Express Co. (2001-present) |
| George Soros | 1988-present | Chairman of Soros Fund Management (1996-present) |
| Janet L. Yellen | 1976-1981, 2006-present | Chairman of the Federal Reserve (February 3, 2014-present) |
| Stanley Fischer | 1994-present | Vice Chairman of the Federal Reserve (June 16, 2014-present) |
| Daniel K. Tarullo | 2000-present | Member of the Federal Reserve Board (2009-present) |
| Jerome H. Powell | 1995-present | Member of the Federal Reserve Board (2012-present) |
| Lael Brainard | 2005-present | Member of the Federal Reserve Board (June 16, 2014-present) |
| Richard W. Fisher | 1976-present | President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas (April 4, 2005-present) |
| Dennis P. Lockhart | 2008-present | President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta (March 1, 2007-present) |
| William C. Dudley | 2011-present | President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (January 27, 2009-present) |
| Ruth Porat | 2011-present | Executive Vice President and Chief Financial Officer of Morgan Stanley (2010-pres.) |
| Alexander T. Ercklentz | 1988-present | Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1978-present) |
| Henry R. Kravis | 1992-present | Senior Partner of Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co. (1987-present) |
| Stephen A. Schwarzman | 1992-present | Chairman and CEO of The Blackstone Group (1985-present) |
| Businessmen: | | |
| Virginia M. Rometty | 2010-present | Chairman, President, and CEO of IBM (2012-present) |
| Randall L. Stephenson | 2010-present | Chairman, CEO, and President of AT&T (2007-present) |
| Inge Thulin | 2013-present | Chairman, President, and CEO of 3M (2012-present) |
| Muhtar Kent | 2010-present | Chairman of the board of The Coca-Cola Company (2009-present) |
| Frederick W. Smith | 2006-present | Chairman of the board of FedEx Corp. (1975-present) |
| William P. Lauder | 2006-present | Chairman of the board of Estee Lauder Companies [cosmetics] (2009-present) |
| Farooq Kathwari | 1998-present | Chairman, President, and CEO of Ethan Allen Interiors Inc. (1988-present) |
| James S. Tisch | 2004-present | President and CEO of Loews Corp. [Newport cigarettes] (1999-present) |
| Craig J. Mundie | 2002-present | Chief Research and Strategy Officer for Microsoft Corp. (2006-present) |
| Sheryl K. Sandberg | 2009-present | Chief Operating Officer of Facebook, Inc. (2008-present) |
| Lawyers: | | |
| Noah Hanft | 2013-present | General Counsel of MasterCard (2001-March 31, 2014) |
| Louise M. Parent | 2000-present | General Counsel of American Express Co. (1993-present) |
| Sheila C. Cheston | 2002-present | General Counsel of Northrop Grumman Corporation (2010-present) |
| R. Hewitt Pate | 2012-present | General Counsel of Chevron Corporation (2009-present) |
| Peter J. Beshar | 1996-present | General Counsel of Marsh & McLennan Companies (2004-present) |
| Richard A. Drucker | 1999-present | Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell [law firm in New York City] (1988-present) |
| Andres V. Gil | 1989-1993, 2006-present | Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell [law firm in New York City] (1990-present) |
| James H. Carter | 1998-present | Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell [law firm in New York City] (1977-present) |
| Mel M. Immergut | 1999-present | Partner of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy [New York City] (1980-present) |
| Richard I. Beattie | 1985-present | Partner of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett [New York City] (1975-1977, 1980-present) |
| David W. Rivkin | 2005-present | Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton [New York City] (1988-present) |
| Toby S. Myerson | 1993-present | Partner of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (1983-1989, 1990-present) |
| Charlene Barshefsky | 1999-present | Partner of Wilmer, Cutler, Pickering, Hale & Dorr (2001-present) |
| Jamie Gorelick | 1997-present | Partner of Wilmer, Cutler, Pickering, Hale & Dorr (2003-present) |
| Vernon E. Jordan Jr. | 1978-present | Senior Counsel of Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld (2000-present) |
| Organization Executives: | | |
| Jessica T. Mathews | 1978-1980, 1983-present | President of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1997-present) |
| Judith Rodin | 2006-present | President of The Rockefeller Foundation (2005-present) |
| Darren Walker | 2012-present | President of the Ford Foundation (2013-present) |
| Paul L. Joskow | 2008-present | President of Alfred P. Sloan Foundation (2008-present) |
| Ronald S. Lauder | 1998-present | President of World Jewish Congress (2007-present) |
| Abraham H. Foxman | 2006-present | National Director of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) (1987-present) |
| Malcolm Hoenlein | 1986-present | Exec. Vice Chmn., Conf. of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations |
| Robert E. Rubin | 1994-present | Co-Chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations (2007-present) |
| Carla A. Hills | 1993-present | Co-Chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations (2007-present) |
| Richard N. Haass | 1980-1985, 1994-pres. | President of the Council on Foreign Relations (2003-present) |
| Joseph S. Nye Jr. | 1970-present | North American Chairman of the Trilateral Commission (2008-present) |
| Roger W. Ferguson Jr. | 2004-present | Chairman of the Economic Club of New York (2012-present) |
| Vartan Gregorian | 1984-present | President of Carnegie Corporation of New York (1997-present) |
| Strobe Talbott | 1975-present | President of The Brookings Institution (2002-present) |
| Walter S. Isaacson | 1979-1984, 1987-pres. | President of Aspen Institute (2003-present) |
| John J. Hamre | 2001-present | President of Center for Strategic International Studies (CSIS) (2000-present) |
| Grover G. Norquist | 1999-present | President of Americans for Tax Reform (1985-present) |
| Rev. Jesse Jackson Sr. | 1990-present | President of Rainbow/PUSH Coalition (1996-present) |
| Jeffrey L. Sturchio | 2010-present | President and CEO of Global Health Council (2009-present) |
| Jonathan T.M. Reckford | 2009-present | CEO of Habitat for Humanity (2005-present) |
| Marie-Josée Kravis | 2005-present | Senior Fellow of the Hudson Institute (1994-present) |

| Name | CFR Membership | Occupation |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| Corporate Media: | | |
| Rupert Murdoch | 1994-present | Chairman and CEO of News Corp. (Fox News) (1991-present) |
| Eric Schmidt | 2008-present | Chairman and CEO of Google Inc. (2001-present) |
| Jeffrey L. Bewkes | 1996-present | Chairman and CEO of Time Warner, Inc. (2009-present) |
| Edgar Bronfman Jr. | 2007-present | Chairman and CEO of Warner Music Group Corp. (2004-present) |
| Mortimer B. Zuckerman | 1988-present | Editor-in-Chief of <i>U.S. News and World Report</i> (1984-present) |
| Fareed Zakaria | 2002-present | Editor of Newsweek International (2000-present) |
| Fred Hiatt | 1997-present | Editorial Page Editor of <i>The Washington Post</i> (2000-present) |
| Andrew M. Rosenthal | 2007-present | Editorial Page Editor of <i>The New York Times</i> (2007-present) |
| Thomas L. Friedman | 1985-present | Foreign Affairs Columnist of <i>The New York Times</i> (1995-present) |
| Nicholas D. Kristof | 2003-present | Columnist for the <i>New York Times</i> (2001-present) |
| Charles Krauthammer | 1990-present | Syndicated Columnist for <i>The Washington Post</i> (1984-present) |
| Robert W. Kagan | 1985-1990, 1996-pres. | Columnist for <i>The Washington Post</i> |
| Peggy Noonan | 2010-present | Columnist for the <i>Wall Street Journal</i> |
| Diane Sawyer | 1981-present | Anchor of ABC <i>World News Tonight</i> (2010-present) |
| Brian D. Williams | 2003-present | Anchor of NBC <i>Nightly News</i> (2004-present) |
| Andrea Mitchell | 2004-present | Chief Foreign Affairs Correspondent for NBC (1994-present) |
| Bob L. Schieffer | 2010-present | Moderator of <i>Face The Nation</i> (1991-present) |
| Barbara Walters | 1978-present | Co-host of <i>The View</i> on ABC (1997-present) |
| George Stephanopoulos | 1991-1996, 2010-pres. | Anchor of Good Morning America on ABC (2010-present) |
| Joe Scarborough | 2009-present | Co-Anchor of 'Morning Joe' on MSNBC |
| Mika Brzezinski | 2011-present | Co-Anchor of 'Morning Joe' on MSNBC |
| Lesley R. Stahl | 2002-present | CBS News <i>60 Minutes</i> correspondent (1991-present) |
| College Professors: | | |
| Christina H. Paxson | 2012-present | President of Brown University (2012-present) |
| Lee C. Bollinger | 2003-present | President of Columbia University (2002-present) |
| David J. Skorton | 2006-present | President of Cornell University (2006-present) |
| John J. DeGioia | 2003-present | President of Georgetown University (2001-present) |
| Christopher B. Howard | 2000-2004, 2006-pres. | President of Hampden-Sydney College [Virginia] (2009-present) |
| Donna E. Shalala | 1982-present | President of University of Miami [Florida] (2001-present) |
| David L. Boren | 1989-present | President of University of Oklahoma (1994-present) |
| Leo Rafael Reif | 2012-present | President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology (2012-present) |
| Jane Dammen McAuliffe | 2009-present | President of Bryn Mawr College (2008-present) |
| Dennis H. Holtschneider | 2009-present | President of DePaul University [Chicago] (2004-present) |
| John Edward Sexton | 2003-present | President of New York University (2002-present) |
| Michael K. Young | 1984-1989, 1995-pres. | President of University of Washington [Seattle] (2011-present) |
| Michael M. Crow | 2005-present | President of Arizona State University (2002-present) |
| David W. Leebron | 1996-present | President of Rice University [Texas] (2004-present) |
| Renu Khator | 2011-present | President of University of Houston (2008-present) |
| Adam Weinberg | 2012-present | President of Denison University [Ohio] (2013-present) |
| Linda Koch Lorimer | 2013-present | Vice President for Global and Strategic Initiatives at Yale University (2013-present) |
| George W. Breslauer | 1994-present | Provost of University of California at Berkeley (2006-present) |
| John H. Coatsworth | 2000-present | Provost of Columbia University (2011-present) |
| R. Glenn Hubbard | 2007-present | Dean of Columbia Business School (2004-present) |
| Merit E. Janow | 1985-present | Dean, School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia Univ. (2013-present) |
| Vali R. Nasr | 2005-present | Dean, Nitze School of Advanced Int'l Studies at Johns Hopkins Univ. (2012-present) |
| Carol J. Lancaster | 1986-present | Dean, Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown Univ. (2009-present) |
| (Adm.) James G. Stavridis | 1984-1989, 2005-pres. | Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University (2013-present) |
| James B. Steinberg | 1988-present | Dean, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse Univ. (2011-pres.) |
| Eric Paul Schwartz | 1992-1997, 2001-pres. | Dean, Humphrey School of Public Affairs at the Univ. of Minnesota (2011-present) |
| Robert L. Hutchings | 1997-present | Dean, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at Univ. of Texas [Austin] (2010-pr.) |
| Peter B. Henry | 2008-present | Dean of New York University Leonard N. Stern School of Business (2010-present) |
| Paul G. Mahoney | 2004-present | Dean of the University of Virginia School of Law (2008-present) |
| Henry Louis Gates Jr. | 1990-present | W.E.B. Du Bois Professor of the Humanities at Harvard University |
| Drew S. Days III | 1997-present | Professor of Law at Yale Law School (1991-present) |
| Kate Stith | 1993-present | Lafayette S. Foster Professor of Law at Yale Law School (1998-present) |
| Andrew Moravcsik | 2002-present | Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University (2004-present) |

| Name | CFR Membership | Occupation |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Government Officials: | | |
| Executive Branch: | | |
| John Forbes Kerry | 1992-present | U.S. Secretary of State (2013-present) |
| Chuck Hagel | 1999-present | U.S. Secretary of Defense (2013-present) |
| Jacob J. Lew | 2006-present | U.S. Secretary of the Treasury (2013-present) |
| Penny S. Pritzker | 1994-1998, 2004-pres. | U.S. Secretary of Commerce (2013-present) |
| (Gen.) Eric K. Shinseki | 2000-present | U.S. Secretary of Veterans Affairs (January 21, 2009-May 30, 2014) |
| Ernest J. Moniz | 2001-present | U.S. Secretary of Energy (2013-present) |
| Jeh Charles Johnson | 2001-present | U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security (December 23, 2013-present) |
| Susan E. Rice | 1992-1997, 1999-pres. | National Security Advisor (July 1, 2013-present) |
| Michael B.G. Froman | 1996-present | U.S. Trade Representative (2013-present) |
| Sylvia Mathews Burwell | 1996-present | U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services (June 9, 2014-present) Director of Office of Management and Budget (April 24, 2013-June 9, 2014) |
| Gene B. Sperling | 2003-present | Director of National Economic Council (1996-2001, 2011-2014) |
| Mary Jo White | 2003-present | Chairman of U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (2013-present) |
| Margaret Ann Hamburg | 1986-1991, 1993-pres. | Commissioner of Food and Drug Administration (2009-present) |
| David C. Gompert | 1977-present | Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence (2009-present) |
| Miriam Sapiro | 1991-1996, 2000-pres. | Deputy U.S. Trade Representative (2009-present) |
| Antony John Blinken | 1990-1995, 2003-pres. | Deputy National Security Advisor (2013-present) |
| Lisa O. Monaco | 2013-present | United States Homeland Security Advisor (2013-present) |
| Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall | 1986-present | National Security Council Senior Director for European Affairs (2009-present) |
| William J. Burns | 1994-present | Deputy U.S. Secretary of State (2011-present) |
| Wendy R. Sherman | 1997-present | Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (2011-present) |
| Sarah Sewall | 1992-present | Under Sec. of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights (2014-pr.) |
| Richard Stengel | 1989-1992, 2010-pres. | Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (2014-present) |
| David McKean | 2010-present | Director of Policy Planning Staff (2013-present) |
| (Lt. Gen.) Douglas Lute | 2011-present | U.S. Representative to NATO (2013-present) |
| Michael McFaul | 2001-present | U.S. Ambassador to Russia (February 22, 2012-February 26, 2014) |
| Nancy Jo Powell | 2010-present | U.S. Ambassador to India (2012-present) |
| Richard L. Morningstar | 2004-present | U.S. Ambassador to Azerbaijan (2012-present) |
| James B. Cunningham | 2001-present | U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan (2012-present) |
| Mari Carmen Aponte | 1995-present | U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador (2010-present) |
| Mark F. Brzezinski | 1997-2001, 2003-pres. | U.S. Ambassador to Sweden (2011-present) |
| Gina Abercrombie-Winstanley | 1998-present | U.S. Ambassador to Malta (2012-present) |
| Caroline Kennedy | 2002-present | U.S. Ambassador to Japan (2013-present) |
| Raymond E. Mabus | 1996-present | Secretary of the Navy (2009-present) |
| Stephen W. Preston | 2002-present | General Counsel of the U.S. Department of Defense (2013-present) |
| Derek Chollet | 1998-present | Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (2012-present) |
| Gen. Lloyd J. Austin III | 2013-present | Commander of U.S. Central Command (March 22, 2013- present) |
| Gen. Charles H. Jacoby Jr. | 2011-present | Commander, North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD)(2011-pres.) |
| Lt. Gen. Michelle D. Johnson | 2007-present | Superintendent of U.S. Air Force Academy (2013-present) |
| Cyrus Amir-Mokri | 2012-present | Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Financial Institutions (2011-present) |
| Francisco J. Sanchez | 2011-present | Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade (2009-present) |
| Cameron F. Kerry | 2012-present | General Counsel of the U.S. Department of Commerce (2009-present) |
| Alan D. Bersin | 1999-present | Asst. Sec. of Homeland Security for International Affairs (2009-2011, 2012-present) |
| Daniel B. Poneman | 1986-present | Deputy Secretary of Energy (2009-present) |
| Legislative Branch: | | |
| Sen. John D. Rockefeller IV | 1978-present | U.S. Senator (Democrat-West Virginia, 1985-present) |
| Sen. John S. McCain III | 1997-present | U.S. Senator (Republican-Arizona, 1987-present) |
| Sen. Jack Reed | 2001-present | U.S. Senator (Democrat-Rhode Island, 1997-present) |
| Sen. Dianne Feinstein | 2003-present | U.S. Senator (Democrat-California, 1992-present) |
| Sen. Mark Warner | 2005-present | U.S. Senator (Democrat-Virginia, 2009-present) |
| Sen. Susan M. Collins | 2013-present | U.S. Senator (Republican-Maine, 1997-present) |
| Thomas E. Petri | 1989-present | U.S. Congressman (Republican-Wisconsin, 1979-present) |
| Jim McDermott | 1995-present | U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Washington, 1989-present) |
| James H. S. "Jim" Cooper | 1995-present | U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Tennessee, 1983-1995, 2003-present) |
| Charles W. Boustany Jr. | 2007-present | U.S. Congressman (Republican-Louisiana, 2005-present) |
| William M. "Mac" Thornberry | 2008-present | U.S. Congressman (Republican-Texas, 1995-present) |
| Kay Granger | 2010-present | U.S. Congressman (Republican-Texas, 1997-present) |
| Nita M. Lowey | 2010-present | U.S. Congressman (Democrat-New York, 1989-present) |
| Keith Ellison | 2013-present | U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Minnesota, 2007-present) |
| Judicial Branch: | | |
| Ruth Bader Ginsburg | 1973-present | Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1993-present) |
| Stephen G. Breyer | 1983-present | Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1994-present) |
| Pauline Newman | 2002-present | Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit (1984-present) |
| Keith P. Ellison | 1979-present | Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Texas (1999-present) |

Whatever Happened to the Council on Foreign Relations?

By Robert D. Schulzinger

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The Council on Foreign Relations occupies a stately five-story mansion on the southwest corner of Sixty-eighth Street and Park Avenue in one of the most fashionable districts of Manhattan. Once the home of Harold Pratt, a partner of John D. Rockefeller, it was given by his widow to the council in 1945. In these comfortable headquarters the organization houses a staff of researchers and writers on every aspect of contemporary American foreign policy, holds general meetings for the approximately two thousand carefully chosen bankers, lawyers, journalists, public officials, and academics who belong to it, and convenes specialized study groups on the world's problems. It is from offices in this building that it also publishes its influential quarterly journal, *Foreign Affairs*.

The work of the council attracts the attention of major newspapers and periodicals, which profile its leaders. Writing in *Commentary* in July 1980, Carl Gershman called the council: "The old internationalist establishment which presided over American policy during the era of the Cold War and which collapsed as a result of America's defeat in Vietnam." Government officials often heed what the council has to say. During the Second World War the Department of State hired the council to prepare plans for the postwar world. While no official connection has existed between the government and the council since World War II, the agencies of the "national security state" have all solicited the council's advice.

Critics from the Right and Left have taken a hard look at the council, which they believe has conspired to deprive ordinary citizens of control of foreign affairs. Kent and Phoebe Courtney, two members of the radical Right, entitled their 1962 expose of the council *America's Unelected Rulers*. Two new leftists, Lawrence Shoup and William Minter, wrote in *Imperial Brain Trust: The Council on Foreign Relations and U.S. Foreign Policy* (1977) that "the results [of the council's work] have been and are against the interests of both the majority of the American people and the people of the world."

Whether or not the council exerts the sinister power attributed to it by its critics, the men who formed the organization after the First World War and the men (and, much later, women) who joined it in subsequent years did so because they wanted to affect the course of American foreign policy. Created at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the council began slowly in the 1920s as a social club for the New York financial and legal elite. By the 1930s the organization had become the centerpiece for the battles over the proper role for the United States in the impending war in Europe. During the thirties, when a large portion of the public opposed the Roosevelt administration's efforts to draw the country closer to Britain and France, the council forthrightly advocated intervention on the side of the allies.

In the first two decades of the council's existence, its leadership developed a weary contempt for the public's ability to understand international relations. For the council, the public was always stupid and usually wrong. Outsiders, who had played no part in creating American foreign policy, had prevented the Senate's consenting to the Paris Peace Treaty in 1919-20. Ignorant Anglophobes had forced the Republican administrations of the 1920s to steer clear of a political alignment with the British during the twenties. The council thought that the American public had behaved even worse throughout the Great Depression, when it forced the Roosevelt administration into a virtual silent partnership with the Nazis, thereby abetting Germany's drive to subjugate the entire European continent.

When war broke out in Europe in September 1939, the council came into its own as the planning staff for the Department of State. The editor of *Foreign Affairs*, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, who had feared a new world war for the previous five years, met in Washington on 13 September with Assistant Secretary of State George Messersmith to offer the services of the council to the government for the duration of the war. The two men developed a scheme for the council to ask the Rockefeller Foundation for the money to underwrite secret research for the State Department, an undertaking known as the War and Peace Studies Project of the Council on Foreign Relations. In hundreds of confidential memoranda to the State Department, War and Peace Studies drew up plans for the postwar economic reconstruction of Europe, the general international organization that would follow the war, and postwar disarmament. The project utilized the talents of many men who later rose to the top of the foreign affairs establishment: Allen W. Dulles, later director of the Central Intelligence Agency; Hanson W. Baldwin, chief military correspondent for the *New York Times*; and Grayson Kirk, later president of Columbia University.

The war years also saw the council emerge as the foremost private study group on foreign policy in the United States. It easily eclipsed the Foreign Policy Association, a group that Armstrong and banking members of the council like Russell C. Leffingwell criticized for letting in too many unimportant men and, even worse, women. The council appeared more in touch with the actual powers in Washington and less concerned with telling the public what went on there than did the Foreign Policy Association.

The council always has preferred to work behind the scenes. The discreet telephone call, the hurried meeting, the summons to the capital to brief the secretary of state were more its way of doing business than the public informational meetings of the

Foreign Policy Association. Even the most public organ of the council, *Foreign Affairs*, adopted a format and style of dull gray dignity, which Armstrong calculated would repel a popular audience as much as it would attract the attention of the substantial molders of opinion.

Although the council had the field almost to itself during the late forties, it could not enjoy its position of dominance for long. By the mid-1950s entrepreneurs in the universities discovered that the government would pay them to train functionaries to wage the Cold War, and the universities had the lion's share of the experts on international relations on their staffs. The government begged them to accept contracts for studies of international issues, and the Council on Foreign Relations lost its preeminence in the field of foreign policy advice.

During the sixties the council enjoyed an Indian summer of authority when it became the recruiting arm for foreign policy specialists for John F. Kennedy's New Frontier, and more members of the Council on Foreign Relations accepted high-level positions in Kennedy's administration than had joined any previous government. That record was later surpassed during Richard M. Nixon's tenure in the White House. Nonetheless, the council saw its influence slide as the sixties wore on. The war in Vietnam, which many council members ardently backed in its early years, disturbed the peace of the council as it shattered the consensus on foreign policy built up in the Cold War years.

Although the council did not represent an especially wide range of opinion on the Vietnam War (few members advocated either full-scale war or immediate withdrawal), the differences over Vietnam that erupted aroused such intense emotion that the council divided over what advice to give the government and the public. These fissures were reported in the newspapers in autumn 1971 when the council appointed a new editor of *Foreign Affairs*. Armstrong was retiring in 1972, and the search committee recommended as his successor William P. Bundy, onetime CIA analyst, assistant secretary of state under Kennedy and Johnson, and one of the major architects of America's involvement in Vietnam. Opponents of the war in Vietnam who belonged to the council thought Bundy a terrible choice since *Foreign Affairs* presented the council's face to the public. Led by Richard Falk, a professor of international law at Princeton, critics complained that the council had abandoned any claim to impartiality when it offered the editorship to Bundy.

Another problem plaguing the council during the seventies was a public venting of an internal dispute over membership. Critics, again led by Falk, charged that the organization drew solely on rich, tired, old men who shared a narrow conservative-internationalist outlook on world politics. They demanded that membership be offered to women and young men who might someday become the leaders of American foreign affairs.

These attempts to democratize the council enjoyed modest success. Women joined, and the average age of members dropped from the mid-fifties to the late forties. But success in lowering barriers to admission necessarily made the council far less exclusive than it had been twenty years before. Some council leaders decided in 1972 that the organization might never recover from its loss of public esteem. David Rockefeller, chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank, who had served as chairman of the council since 1971, thought the council had simply grown too large to function effectively. In 1973 he helped organize a much smaller version of the council, the Trilateral Commission, which had only 250 members from North America, Europe, and Japan.

With its international membership, the Trilateral Commission fulfilled the dreams of the founders of the council who had met at the Hotel Majestic in Paris in May 1919. There, about forty members of the American and British delegations to the peace talks, led by banker Thomas Lamont and President of the American Geographical Society Isaiah Bowman for the Americans, and Lord Robert Cecil and Lionel Curtis for the British, planned to establish a research organization on international affairs with branches in Britain and America. Members of both delegations had worked closely together at the peace conference preparing technical papers for their political chiefs. They had discovered that their superior knowledge of international affairs provided a common ground of understanding. In fact, their expertise gave them more familiarity with one another than with politicians of their own countries. Furthermore, they feared that the British and American publics would lose interest in world affairs once the peace treaty was adopted. Lamont and Bowman believed that the World War represented a welcome rise in public interest in international relations, but they doubted that the public would maintain that interest without leadership from more knowledgeable men. The new organization would keep the internationalist spirit alive.

At the first meeting of the Anglo-American research organization, speakers from both delegations congratulated themselves on having transcended petty nationalism in order to provide the knowledge necessary for their superiors. Yet they feared that the peace conference might represent a high-water mark in Anglo-American understanding. The new organization would have to engage in heroic efforts to preserve the esprit that had touched the technical experts during the conference. Even with the best intentions in the world, the members of the new organization might be unable to insulate the experts from the ignorant nationalism of their countrymen. This meeting set a pattern that was followed throughout the subsequent history of the Council on Foreign Relations. Its leaders maintained a commitment to cooperation with similar-minded foreign affairs specialists

overseas, believed that American foreign policy should be "internationalist," and feared that the American public lacked the knowledge and patience to understand foreign affairs.

The idea of a single international research organization never bore fruit. The Senate debate over the treaty at Versailles tapped a well of anti-British sentiment, and the American members of the joint research organization decided to start their group independently of the British. By the mid-1920s two groups emerged. In Britain, Curtis succeeded in 1922 in gaining a charter from King George V for the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The Americans incorporated as the Council on Foreign Relations under the laws of New York State in July 1921. In subsequent years the American council and the British institute pursued the basic goals of the 1919 meeting: the collection of knowledge on international relations, the dampening of zealous nationalism, and the enlistment of experts into the creation of foreign policy.

Unfortunately, hanging over all the council's work was a moralism bordering on self-righteousness. The men who formed the council at the peace conference in 1919 and led it before the Second World War were, for the most part, followers of Woodrow Wilson. Armstrong, John W. Davis, Norman H. Davis, Dulles, and Bowman had all accompanied Wilson to Paris, and they all had felt betrayed when the Senate had turned down the Versailles Treaty.

Members of the council accused their countrymen of wishing to withdraw from the world because they did not feel comfortable dealing with foreigners, resenting Americans who had a faculty for getting along with aliens, and masking these sentiments of inferiority by claiming it would be better if the country stayed out of foreign affairs. In a 1926 *Foreign Affairs* article on William E. Borah of Idaho, the new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Walter Lippmann said: "Ordinarily ... he would be labelled a chronic knocker and dismissed from the society of the righteous and efficient. But, like the weather, the only thing to know about Borah is to accept him." Lippmann wrote similar articles in *Foreign Affairs* about other noninterventionists in the early 1930s until he eloped with Armstrong's wife in 1938 and ended his participation in the business of the council.

A few council leaders wanted to open the organization to more public exposure in the years 1938-45. These "democratizers," led by Columbia University Professor of International Relations James T. Shotwell, lost their bid to make the council more accessible. In the process Shotwell infuriated Armstrong and Bowman, who accused him of grandstanding for the public. The bankers on the council became even more agitated by visions of sitting down to dinner with local Rotarians, school-board members, hardware proprietors, and church women. As Leffingwell expressed it when the subject arose of competing directly with the Foreign Policy Association for the public's attention, "if I'd wanted to sit down with those people, I would have joined them." Therefore, the local committees on Foreign Relations spread around the United States functioned as compromises between the desires of the bankers and men of affairs to keep the council a small influential elite in New York and the fears of Shotwell that no one listened to what the council had to say.

During the war more committees on Foreign Relations grew up across the country. They measured public attitudes toward the important issues of the war: the future of Germany and Japan, American participation in the postwar international organization, and sentiments toward Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. These reports went to the council's headquarters on East Sixty-fifth Street, where Armstrong and Walter Mallory, the executive director, used them to plan strategies for leading American public opinion toward internationalism.

The council achieved its greatest influence over American foreign policy during the Second World War. The War and Peace Studies Project provided the Department of State over three hundred memoranda on territorial questions, the future of armaments, the postwar economic world, and general international organization. In all four categories the council's experts sought to expand and modify Woodrow Wilson's internationalism.

The council's Second World War recommendations presented a very special internationalism, which recognized the interests of other countries while placing those of the United States first. The War and Peace Studies staff believed in international cooperation, as long as both Americans and foreigners acknowledged certain obvious facts. First, the United States was clearly the most powerful nation on the globe. Second, too much nationalism, especially from small, "disruptive" powers, threatened international security. Third, a general international organization that recognized the preponderance of the United States was the best means of keeping the peace. And fourth, international security depended upon a thriving international economy. In economic affairs, just as in political and military ones, American participation and direction were essential.

After the Second World War the council remained involved in public controversies over American foreign policy, usually siding with the government in power, and always insisting that the "experts" deal with foreign policy. The stress on expertise derived from a fear that the public, once aroused to the need for American participation in world politics, would want to take charge of diplomacy. Council members believed that any position the general public took on foreign affairs was insufficiently "nuanced" to be useful to the government.

During the early years of the Cold War the council urged a stiffer position against the Soviet Union. From 1944 to 1946 a study group chaired by William Schubart, a banker, and having as members some of the foremost Russian scholars working in the United States investigated the question of U.S.-Soviet relations. The rapporteur of the group, George S. Franklin, had been introduced to the council by David Rockefeller in 1944. Franklin, a lawyer who hated to practice, stayed on at the council in one capacity or another for twenty-nine years, leaving in 1973 to become the executive director of the new Trilateral Commission.

The council's break with the alliance with the Soviet Union coincided with the Truman administration's greater animosity toward that nation. But just as the Truman administration found itself at odds with former isolationists over how to wage the Cold War, the council, too, concluded that in the three years from 1947 to 1950 a policy of war with the Soviets could prove disastrous. The most famous of the council's prescriptions for how to deal with the Soviet Union came in the July 1947 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, in which George F. Kennan, the State Department's chief of planning, writing under the pseudonym "X," examined "The Sources of Soviet Conduct."

For the next thirty years and more foreign policy analysts would disagree about what Kennan had in mind when he called for containment of the Soviet Union. Kennan changed his mind over what he said in "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," and by the late 1950s denied he had meant that the United States should confront the Soviets militarily. At the time the "X article" appeared, however, shrewd observers of American foreign policy believed that an alliance with the Europeans was the natural consequence of the doctrine of containment.

During the second Truman administration, when containment became a dirty word on the lips of Republicans, the council tried to defend Kennan's ideas and rekindle some of the old sense of internationalism. Council members argued that the Asia Firsters of the Republican party were only the post-World War II remnants of the prewar isolationists. According to Armstrong and Dulles, the China Lobby of William Knowland, Walter Judd, and William Jenner missed the point of the nature of the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Asia Firsters desired a "quick fix" to the Soviet threat, striking at the Soviet rear in Asia. By forming an alliance with the Chinese nationalists and the South Koreans, the China Lobby thought that the United States would acquire friends who would accept American tutelage more readily than the wily diplomats of Europe. But the council denied that the conflict with the Soviet Union could be solved easily or quickly.

It required inexhaustible patience as well as limitless self-confidence to believe, as the council did, that the United States eventually would overwhelm the Soviet Union in a conflict that would last nearly forever. Not that having the Cold War run on forever would necessarily be bad, for a war without end would mean that the foreign affairs experts of the council and the other research bodies could continue to dominate the conduct of American foreign policy. A continuing struggle with the Soviet Union could point up the need for expert diplomats to the American public, while at the same time dampen the public's urge to complain about foreign policy. If the United States stood in constant peril, there would be less likelihood that carping critics like the China Lobby could make headway discrediting the country's leaders. Under a state of siege, the Truman administration and its successors all argued that too much public criticism of their foreign policies made it harder for them to do their jobs. The critics themselves might even be convinced, as happened when the Republicans took over in 1953. Some unhappy foreign policy critics even toned down their attacks on America's diplomatic establishment, reasoning that while the leadership might not be the best, it was the only leadership available.

During the fifties the council reiterated its arguments about the need to defer to the wisdom of the men in charge. This attempt to generate wide public support for an elite's exclusive control of foreign policy could succeed only if the critics of containment could be made more patient than radicals traditionally had been. The Asia Firsters could not tolerate the slow pace of the Cold War, and they began to doubt whether the American foreign policy experts in the council and in the government really cared if the United States outlasted the Soviet Union.

At the time of the Alger Hiss case, Senator Joseph McCarthy's pressure to purge the State Department, and the growth of the John Birch Society some members of the radical Right came to believe that the foreign policy establishment actually worked for the Soviet Union and looked forward to the day when the revolution would vanquish the West. The Council on Foreign Relations stood out in this demonology. In *Rockefeller 'Internationalist': The Man Who Misrules the World*, published in 1952, the location of the council's headquarters at the corner of Sixty-eighth Street and Park Avenue took on sinister significance because it faced the Soviet Union's mission to the United Nations. On the frontispiece was printed a picture of the council and the Soviet mission, and the text speculated that the agents of the Kremlin met the staff of the council in the steam tunnels under Sixty-eighth Street and handed over bags of gold and lists of instructions from the politburo in Moscow. The book also charged that the council fronted for the Rockefellers and that they had collaborated with the Bolsheviks since 1917.

Radicals of the Left in the sixties joined the denunciation of the foreign policy establishment for having a hidden agenda. For the leftists, the object of the Cold War was the advancement of the careers of the foreign policy experts in the council and the government and the creation of profits for international bankers and munitions manufacturers. Under these assumptions the Cold

Warriors wanted the conflict neither to end nor turn bloody. Neither Soviet capitulation nor a shooting war would diminish the authority of the managers of national security. The end of the threat would lift the siege mentality. As long as Boeing, McDonnell-Douglas, General Dynamics, or Chrysler prepared for some vague future battle, they could happily gear themselves for any type of war. Weapons quickly became obsolete and had to be replaced with newer, more sophisticated, and profitable tools of destruction. But let an actual war break out, and the merchants of death would have to satisfy their greed by supplying the basic materiel – rifles, tanks, and transports. Furthermore, manpower levels would increase in wartime, and the Pentagon would have to spend more of its budget paying, feeding, and supplying G.I.s. Less money would remain to develop highly profitable hardware.

For the leftists the internationalism of the council represented the interests of big business. The radical Right also hated the big business sympathies of many of the council's leaders. For the Left the big business interests represented a betrayal of the "working class," while the Right deplored an internationalism that dissolved the traditional values of the nation state. Right-wing radicals like Robert Welch or Moon Mullins of the John Birch Society spoke of the council's helping big business sap the vitality of the United States and believed that it undermined religion and mocked the flag.

To both the Left and the Right, the council proclaimed itself the sole repository of wisdom on international issues. For angry political activists, as well as for common citizens who lacked access to the great and powerful, the council appeared to elevate expertise in order to exclude the general public from thinking about foreign policy. The radicals also complained that the council's elevation of expertise left no room for morality in the conduct of international relations. According to the radicals, the council was either made up of "amoralists" who thought that ethics had no place in international relations, or its members posed as being indifferent to morality in order to force the public to acknowledge it had no business applying its childish notions of good and evil to foreign policy.

Officers of the council like David Rockefeller could shrug off the attacks of the radicals as the bitter ruminations of frustrated, lonely souls. But in the sixties and seventies a third wave of criticism assailed the council from the very internationalists who earlier had been among its supporters. **Some liberals took aim at the organization as a dull collection of self-important gentlemen who had very little to say about what really went on in the world. John Kenneth Galbraith, the liberal Harvard economist who had actively participated in the council's study group on postwar planning in 1945 and 1946, resigned out of boredom in the late 1960s. He described the council's membership as "the biggest group of meatheads in America," and the organization as a whole as the "seat of boredom."** A younger man, John Campbell, a Foreign Service officer who came to work at the council on a fellowship in 1969, chimed in with a scathing attack in *New York Magazine* in September 1971. He called the council a club of tired, old men, sipping tea and drowsing off at meetings while nonexperts expounded on nonproblems of international relations. He also took on *Foreign Affairs*, claiming it was the dullest, not the most influential, magazine in the world.

Campbell took his challenge to *Foreign Affairs* seriously enough to become the first managing editor of a rival journal, *Foreign Policy*, sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. *Foreign Policy* sought to carve a place for itself as *the* organ of the foreign policy establishment by being livelier than *Foreign Affairs*. The new magazine tried to find authors who would disagree in print with one another. Just as *Foreign Affairs* sought to distinguish itself by looking dignified with a grave, gray cover and a colophon of the horse Bucephalus riding off in triumph, *Foreign Policy* tried to appear trendy. The magazine was only two and one-half inches wide and nine inches long. A reader was supposed to slip it into a pocket and pull it out to quote at appropriate moments in foreign policy debates.

The Vietnam War paralyzed the council's thinking on America's role in the world. Originally most council members were united in support of the war, but as the conflict continued the members split along the same lines that divided other foreign affairs leaders. Even the promotion of one of the council's most outstanding figures, Henry Kissinger, to the premier post in the government's foreign affairs bureaucracy did not polish the image of the council. Too many liberal members of the foreign affairs establishment despised Kissinger as an amoral self-promoter. Kissinger did, however, provide the organization with a new president; Winston Lord, a former aide on the National Security Council, took over in September 1977. As Kissinger's deputy in Washington, Lord had prepared the opening to China in 1971, written papers on the Vietnamese negotiations with Xuan Thuy, and swallowed his personal misgivings over the secret bombing of Cambodia in 1969 and the invasion of Laos in 1970. After eight years of putting in seventy-hour weeks for a demanding boss, Lord, still in his early forties, took over the council to recuperate, reflect, and rebuild the organization.

Lord's administration of the council followed the terms of two men who departed under large clouds. Grayson Kirk served as president of the council from 1964 to 1973 and was succeeded by Bayliss Manning, the dean of the Stanford University Law School, who ran the council from 1973 to 1977. Kirk had advanced with the council, serving as secretary for some of the War and Peace Studies reports during World War II and becoming an active member while he was professor of international relations at Columbia University. He succeeded Dwight Eisenhower as president of Columbia, resigning in disgrace after the student

uprising in 1968. His years at the Harold Pratt House coincided with the arguments over Vietnam and the row over the choice of an editor for *Foreign Affairs*. When he left in 1973 the board of directors was piqued that he had allowed the scandal of the replacement of Armstrong with Bundy to become public.

The board selected Manning because he had helped make the Stanford Law School one of the three top places for training lawyers in the country. Unfortunately, he could not bring his organizational genius east with him to the council. His presidency was plagued with declining revenue and, even more distressing, a massive public lack of interest in what the council did. When Manning stepped down in spring 1977, *Newsweek* reported that David Rockefeller, chairman of the board of directors, considered Manning a lazy leader who had not sought out the big donors and had let the council slide.

The troubles with the council during the seventies, however, went far beyond inadequacies of its staff. Even the most energetic fund raiser, the most dynamic editor, the most provocative director of studies could not have reversed the slump in the council's public reputation. After Vietnam, the public no longer listened deferentially to the "experts" on foreign affairs. It hardly mattered that the council had not spoken with a single voice on Vietnam, as it had on the need for American involvement in the war against Nazi Germany. What stuck in the public mind was that the council, along with government officials, had been so spectacularly wrong for so long and in so many ways over Vietnam.

When it became clear to the leaders of the council in the early 1970s that the war had to end quickly, they did their best to shove it out of the public discourse on foreign policy. The public, however, was not fooled by the avoidance of a painful subject. It concluded rightly that the council found Vietnam a major embarrassment that it wished would disappear. The public may not have been very sophisticated and, according to most members of the council, it was downright naive, but it did not have to be very shrewd to realize that the council had yielded its natural right to tell everyone else the truth about foreign affairs.

Ironically, the council again became the target of the wrath of radicals in American politics just as its influence seemed to ebb. During the election campaign of 1980, radicals confused the rather tired council with the Trilateral Commission and vilified both. On the Republican side the council and the commission became targets for the New Right, which wanted to deny a spot on the ticket to George Bush. The New Right reviled Bush as a member of the eastern foreign policy establishment. None of his unappealing campaign techniques-his squeaky voice, his addiction to sports metaphors, or his resolute refusal to take a stand on issues-rankled the Right as much as his connection with the council and the commission. Among a few Democrats the council and the commission also became issues. Lyndon LaRouche, former head of the U.S. Labor party, sought the Democratic nomination for president on a platform that raised the spectre of a conspiracy among the council, the Trilateral Commission, the Moslem Brotherhood, and the Iranian revolutionaries. These sinister elements, according to LaRouche, ran the politics of the United States through their stooge in the White House, Jimmy Carter.

The people at the Pratt House laughed at these charges. David Rockefeller called them "foolish attacks on false issues." The *New York Times* also thought that the conspiracy theorists had taken leave of their senses. In a way the attacks from the fringe comforted the council, for they made its leaders think that some of the old dominance of public debate still worked. To believe that, however, the leadership of the council would have had to close their eyes to what had happened to their organization.

Founded to provide foreign affairs information to important people and offer a private forum to diplomats and statesmen, the council had enjoyed enormous successes from 1921 until the 1960s. From then until 1980 it lost its way. Its confidence became arrogance just as the rest of the world discovered that it had little new to say. In this, as in so many other ways, the history of the council mirrored the history of American foreign policy since the First World War.

END



Nina L. Khrushcheva, the great-granddaughter of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

How the Ukraine crisis ends

By Henry A. Kissinger, Published: March 5, 2014

Henry A. Kissinger was secretary of state from 1973 to 1977.

Public discussion on Ukraine is all about confrontation. But do we know where we are going? In my life, I have seen four wars begun with great enthusiasm and public support, all of which we did not know how to end and from three of which we withdrew unilaterally. The test of policy is how it ends, not how it begins.

Far too often the Ukrainian issue is posed as a showdown: whether Ukraine joins the East or the West. But if Ukraine is to survive and thrive, it must not be either side's outpost against the other — it should function as a bridge between them.

Russia must accept that to try to force Ukraine into a satellite status, and thereby move Russia's borders again, would doom Moscow to repeat its history of self-fulfilling cycles of reciprocal pressures with Europe and the United States.

The West must understand that, to Russia, Ukraine can never be just a foreign country. Russian history began in what was called Kievan-Rus. The Russian religion spread from there. Ukraine has been part of Russia for centuries, and their histories were intertwined before then. Some of the most important battles for Russian freedom, starting with the [Battle of Poltava in 1709](#), were fought on Ukrainian soil. The Black Sea Fleet — Russia's means of projecting power in the Mediterranean — is based by long-term lease in Sevastopol, in Crimea. Even such famed dissidents as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Joseph Brodsky insisted that Ukraine was an integral part of Russian history and, indeed, of Russia.

The European Union must recognize that its bureaucratic dilatoriness and subordination of the strategic element to domestic politics in negotiating Ukraine's relationship to Europe contributed to turning a negotiation into a crisis. Foreign policy is the art of establishing priorities.

The Ukrainians are the decisive element. They live in a country with a complex history and a polyglot composition. The Western part was incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1939, when Stalin and Hitler divided up the spoils. Crimea, [60 percent of whose population is Russian](#), became part of Ukraine [only in 1954](#), when Nikita Khrushchev, a Ukrainian by birth, awarded it as part of the 300th-year celebration of a Russian agreement with the Cossacks. The west is largely Catholic; the east largely Russian Orthodox. The west speaks Ukrainian; the east speaks mostly Russian. Any attempt by one wing of Ukraine to dominate the other — as has been the pattern — would lead eventually to civil war or break up. To treat Ukraine as part of an East-West confrontation would scuttle for decades any prospect to bring Russia and the West — especially Russia and Europe — into a cooperative international system.

Ukraine has been independent for only 23 years; it had previously been under some kind of foreign rule [since the 14th century](#). Not surprisingly, its leaders have not learned the art of compromise, even less of historical perspective. The politics of post-independence Ukraine clearly demonstrates that the root of the problem lies in efforts by Ukrainian politicians to impose their will on recalcitrant parts of the country, first by one faction, then by the other. That is the essence of the conflict between Viktor Yanukovich and his principal political rival, Yulia Tymoshenko. They represent the two wings of Ukraine and have not been willing to share power. A wise U.S. policy toward Ukraine would seek a way for the two parts of the country to cooperate with each other. We should seek reconciliation, not the domination of a faction.

Russia and the West, and least of all the various factions in Ukraine, have not acted on this principle. Each has made the situation worse. Russia would not be able to impose a military solution without isolating itself at a time when many of its borders are already precarious. For the West, the demonization of Vladimir Putin is not a policy; it is an alibi for the absence of one.

Putin should come to realize that, whatever his grievances, a policy of military impositions would produce another Cold War. For its part, the United States needs to avoid treating Russia as an aberrant to be patiently taught rules of conduct established by Washington. Putin is a serious strategist — on the premises of Russian history. Understanding U.S. values and psychology are not his strong suits. Nor has understanding Russian history and psychology been a strong point of U.S. policymakers.

Leaders of all sides should return to examining outcomes, not compete in posturing. Here is my notion of an outcome compatible with the values and security interests of all sides:

1. Ukraine should have the right to choose freely its economic and political associations, including with Europe.

2. Ukraine should not join NATO, a position I took seven years ago, when it last came up.
3. Ukraine should be free to create any government compatible with the expressed will of its people. Wise Ukrainian leaders would then opt for a policy of reconciliation between the various parts of their country. Internationally, they should pursue a posture comparable to that of Finland. That nation leaves no doubt about its fierce independence and cooperates with the West in most fields but carefully avoids institutional hostility toward Russia.
- 4. It is incompatible with the rules of the existing world order for Russia to annex Crimea. But it should be possible to put Crimea's relationship to Ukraine on a less fraught basis. To that end, Russia would recognize Ukraine's sovereignty over Crimea. Ukraine should reinforce Crimea's autonomy in elections held in the presence of international observers. The process would include removing any ambiguities about the status of the Black Sea Fleet at Sevastopol.**

These are principles, not prescriptions. People familiar with the region will know that not all of them will be palatable to all parties. The test is not absolute satisfaction but balanced dissatisfaction. If some solution based on these or comparable elements is not achieved, the drift toward confrontation will accelerate. The time for that will come soon enough.

Source: http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/henry-kissinger-to-settle-the-ukraine-crisis-start-at-the-end/2014/03/05/46dad868-a496-11e3-8466-d34c451760b9_story.html



William J. Burns (left), the U.S. Ambassador to Russia, and U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice attend a working lunch with Foreign Minister of Russia Sergey Lavrov at the Semifreddo-Mulinazzo Restaurant in Moscow, Russia on October 21, 2006. William J. Burns and Condoleezza Rice are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. William J. Burns served as the U.S. Ambassador to Russia from November 8, 2005 until May 12, 2008. (State Department photo by Melissa H. Russell)

What is to be done? Putin's aggression in Ukraine needs a response

By Zbigniew Brzezinski

March 2013

Regarding the [Russian aggression against Ukraine](#), much depends on what Vladimir Putin does next. But what Putin does depends on not only his calculation of the likely NATO (and especially the U.S.) response but also his estimate of how fiercely the Ukrainian people would respond to any further escalation by Russia. And, to complete the circle, the Ukrainian response would be influenced by citizens' reaction to any repetition of Putin's Crimean aggression and by whether the nation believes that the United States and NATO are truly supportive.

Putin's [thuggish tactics in seizing Crimea](#) offer some hints regarding his planning. He knew in advance that his thinly camouflaged invasion would meet with popular support from the Russian majority in Crimea. He was not sure how the thin and light Ukrainian military units stationed there would react, so [he went in](#) masked like a Mafia gangster. In the event of serious Ukrainian resistance, he could disown the initiative and pull back.

His initial success may tempt him to repeat that performance more directly in the far eastern provinces of Ukraine. If successful, the conclusive third phase could then be directed, through a combination of political unrest and increasingly overt use of Russian forces, to overthrow the government in Kiev. The result would thus be similar to the two phases of Hitler's seizure of the Sudetenland after Munich in 1938 and the final occupation of Prague and Czechoslovakia in early 1939.

Much depends on how clearly the West conveys to the dictator in the Kremlin — a partially comical imitation of Mussolini and a more menacing reminder of Hitler — that NATO cannot be passive if war erupts in Europe. If Ukraine is crushed while the West is simply watching, the new freedom and security in bordering Romania, Poland and the three Baltic republics would also be threatened.

This does not mean that the West, or the United States, should threaten war. But Russia's unilateral and menacing acts mean the West should promptly recognize the current government of Ukraine as legitimate. Uncertainty regarding its legal status could tempt Putin to repeat his Crimean charade. The West also should convey — privately at this stage, so as not to humiliate Russia — that the Ukrainian army can count on immediate and direct Western aid so as to enhance its defensive capabilities. There should be no doubt left in Putin's mind that an attack on Ukraine would precipitate a prolonged and costly engagement, and Ukrainians should not fear that they would be left in the lurch.

Meanwhile, NATO forces, consistent with the organization's contingency planning, should be put on alert. High readiness for some immediate airlift to Europe of U.S. airborne units would be politically and militarily meaningful. If the West wants to avoid a conflict, there should be no ambiguity in the Kremlin as to what might be precipitated by further adventurist use of force in the middle of Europe.

In addition, such efforts to avert miscalculations that could lead to a war should be matched by a reaffirmation of the West's desire for a peaceful accommodation with Russia regarding a joint effort to help Ukraine recover economically and stabilize politically. The West should reassure Russia that it is not seeking to draw Ukraine into NATO or to turn it against Russia. Ukrainians themselves can define the depth of their closeness to Europe and the scope of their economic cooperation with Russia, to the benefit of peace and stability in Europe. And after their [May elections](#), they can revise some of the arrangements for a special status for Crimea, but they should not do so under duress or attack from a neighbor driven by imperial or personal ambitions.

Zbigniew Brzezinski was national security adviser from 1977 to 1981.

Source: http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/zbigniew-brzezinski-after-putins-aggression-in-ukraine-the-west-must-be-ready-to-respond/2014/03/03/25b3f928-a2f5-11e3-84d4-e59b1709222c_story.html

Russia needs to be offered a ‘Finland option’ for Ukraine

by Zbigniew Brzezinski

February 22, 2014

As chaos explodes in [Ukraine](#) and as the threat of Russian intervention mounts the responsibility of the west for the attainment of a constructive outcome becomes more self-evident.

Russia can plunge Ukraine into a bitter, destructive, and internationally dangerous civil war. It can prompt the secession of Crimea and of some of the industrial eastern portions of the country. But that would guarantee that a majority of Ukrainians would become Russia’s enduring enemies, irrespective of the short-run outcome of any civil war abetted by Moscow.

In turn, that would mean that Russian president Vladimir Putin’s nostalgic dream of a “[Eurasian Union](#)” headed by the Russian president himself would be exposed as an enterprise based on intimidation and coercion, not exactly an attractive vision for any of the recently sovereign components of the former Soviet Union.

The west, however, can play a constructive role in containing the exploding violence. That will take concerted action by the US and the EU. The US could and should convey clearly to Mr Putin that it is prepared to use its influence to make certain that a truly independent and territorially undivided Ukraine pursues policies towards Russia similar to those so effectively practised by Finland: mutually respectful neighbours, wide-ranging economic relations both with Russia and the EU, but no participation in any military alliance viewed by Moscow as directed at itself – while also expanding its European connectivity. In brief, the Finnish model as the ideal example for Ukraine, and the EU, and Russia.

But to be credible to the Kremlin, the US needs also to spell out privately that attempts to destabilise the emerging democracy in Kiev and/or to detach parts of Ukraine – not to mention even overt or covert Russian participation in its neighbour’s domestic conflicts – would compel Washington to use its influence internationally to prompt steps that would be economically costly to Moscow.

Options to that effect can range from unilateral individual as well state-to-state financial sanctions, as well as a review of Russia’s status in the World Trade Organisation, the World Bank, and its role in the G8. Obviously, the EU would need to be a solid partner in such an effort, since it is a significant trader with Russia.

But even more urgent and important is the imperative need for the EU to formulate a significant financial emergency package for Ukraine. Otherwise, the country will plunge into a destructive financial chaos. The lead in Europe should be taken in that regard especially by Germany and the UK. The latter’s role as haven for Russian and Ukrainian financial oligarchs gives London special leverage. But every EU country should make some sacrifice in an effort to avert a potentially catastrophic Ukrainian economic collapse.

Obviously, the US and the EU hopefully with Russia’s help should continue to press the dominant democratic forces in Kiev to adopt a stance not of revenge and retribution but of national unification and political moderation. That is do-able and the leaders who emerged in Maidan are moderates.

So, irrespective of what happens in the near future, I continue to believe: “[Sooner rather than later](#), Ukraine will be truly a part of democratic Europe. Later rather than sooner, Russia will follow unless it self-isolates itself and becomes a semi-stagnant imperialistic relic”.

The writer was national security adviser to US president Jimmy Carter and wrote ‘Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power’

Source: <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/e855408c-9bf6-11e3-afe3-00144feab7de.html#axzz2wXbDZisN>

George Soros Predicts Ukraine Could Ruin The EU

Nico Hines
The Daily Beast
March 14, 2014

The billionaire financier says in its tepid response to Russia's Crimea land grab, the EU flubbed a key chance to breathe new life into the stale union.

George Soros, one of the world's leading investors, has warned that the European Union is in danger of falling apart if it fails to confront Vladimir Putin's naked aggression in Ukraine.

The billionaire financier told The Daily Beast that European governments should have seized on Russia's land grab in Crimea to breathe new life into a union that is disintegrating and stumbling towards oblivion. Instead, he argued, squabbling European nations have failed to meet the challenge and continued to act in their own narrow self-interest. "Europe was totally unprepared for this crisis and Putin outmaneuvered Europe with no difficulty," he said.

Soros, who became known as the Man Who Broke the Bank of England after making \$1 billion by betting against Europe's previous financial union, has long insisted that the Euro was being fatally mismanaged. His latest book, published this week, is entitled *The Tragedy of the European Union*. A loud supporter at the launch of the Euro currency and a cheerleader for a united Europe, Soros has been confounded by what he calls the "nightmare" reality 15 years after its introduction.

Speaking in London, he said it was heart-breaking to see European governments shrug their shoulders at the precise moment the continent was finally witnessing an unprecedented popular uprising in the name of the European Union. "Ukrainians have effectively proved that they are willing to sacrifice their lives to get closer to a Europe that is, at the same time, in the process of disintegration," he said.

With Putin's troops in Crimea and a referendum on joining Russia due to be held over the weekend, Soros said there was still time for Europe to act, and reinvigorate the European Union's withering soul.

"I would argue passionately that [the European Union] should not be a failed experiment and events in Ukraine are a wake-up call to face that issue," he said. "It's a challenge, and I hope that Europe will respond to it and actually really rediscover its original mission because that's what got lost in this distortion that has occurred."

Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, indicated that Europe was willing to increase pressure on the Kremlin on Thursday during her most emotional and strident speech since the start of the Ukrainian crisis. She said a referendum orchestrated by Crimea's pro-Russia parliament would be a "catastrophe," and indicated that the EU was willing to impose travel bans and asset freezes on people and firms accused of helping to violate Ukraine's territorial integrity as soon as Monday.

Soros argued that it was more important for Europe to offer positive assistance to the struggling Ukrainian government. "It's very important to respond and respond the right way, which is not necessarily to impose sanctions on Russia, but to actually help Ukraine financially, and also with technical assistance—something like a European Marshall Plan for Ukraine—that would be the right response," he said.

In his new book, which asks "Is it too late to save the European Union?" Soros argues that Putin's attempt to build a new Eastern bloc in Ukraine and beyond could eventually jolt Europe back to life. "We have just witnessed a dramatic test of strength between Russia and the European Union. Russia came out ahead," he said. "Russia has benefited from the fact that Europe is disunited. But now that Russia is emerging as a threat to Europe, it may once again become a force that brings Europe closer together. I pin my hopes on Chancellor Merkel ... one must never give up hope."

He is hardly holding his breath, however. Soros blames the Germans for eroding Europe's fragile union by enforcing policies of austerity and allowing southern European nations to build up debts they will never be able to repay. He accused Berlin of doing "just enough" to keep the Euro afloat: "This confirms my worst fears. It's the nightmare I've been talking about and there is little chance we'll wake up soon."

Germany's economic strength makes it the Eurozone's driving force—Britain is not part of the currency union—but the nation's history has turned it into a reluctant leader. "Germany has emerged as the imperial power, the hegemon of Europe, but the

German public does not want to be in that position exactly because of the painful memory of Hitler. It is in denial and is unwilling to live up to the responsibilities,” he said.

Despite its unwillingness to assume a strong leadership role, Soros argues that Berlin’s fiscal rigidity has created a two-tier Europe where debtor countries are at a permanent disadvantage. If that does not change, he said: “We will have a Europe in which Germany is seen not as a leader but as an oppressor and exploiter. It will not be loved and admired by the rest of Europe it will be hated and resisted.”

That resistance has already begun in a swathe of countries where popular anti-European sentiment has been seen on the street and at the ballot box. Europe-wide elections in May are expected to send a record number of politicians to Brussels who are hostile to the very institutions they will be populating. In Britain, the governing Conservative Party has promised a referendum on leaving the European Union altogether. “That would be a big step forward in the disintegration of the European Union,” Soros said. “Britain’s absence would greatly diminish the weight of the EU in the world ... The world badly needs Europe’s soft power.”

Source: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/03/14/george-soros-predicts-ukraine-could-ruin-the-eu.html>

The U.S. has treated Russia like a loser since the end of the Cold War.

By Jack F. Matlock Jr., Published: March 14, 2014

Jack F. Matlock Jr., ambassador to the U.S.S.R. from 1987 to 1991, is the author of “[Reagan and Gorbachev: How the Cold War Ended](#).”

One afternoon in September 1987, Secretary of State George Shultz settled in a chair across the table from Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in a New York conference room. Both were in the city for the United Nations General Assembly.

As he habitually did at the start of such meetings, Shultz handed Shevardnadze a list of reported human rights abuses in the Soviet Union. Shevardnadze's predecessor, Andrei Gromyko, had always received such lists grudgingly and would lecture us for interfering in Soviet internal affairs.

This time, though, Shevardnadze looked Shultz in the eye and said through his interpreter: “George, I will check this out, and if your information is correct, I will do what I can to correct the problem. But I want you to know one thing: I am not doing this because you ask me to; I am doing it because it is what my country needs to do.”

Shultz replied: “Eduard, that's the only reason either of us should do something. Let me assure you that I will never ask you to do something that I believe is not in your country's interest.”

They stood and shook hands. As I watched the scene, with as much emotion as amazement, it dawned on me that [the Cold War](#) was over. The job of American ambassador in Moscow was going to be a lot easier for me than it had been for my predecessors. I thought back to that moment as talks between Secretary of State John Kerry and Russia's top diplomat this past week failed to resolve the crisis in Ukraine. It's striking that the language being used publicly now is so much more strident than our language, public or private, was then. “It can get ugly fast if the wrong choices are made,” [Kerry declared Wednesday, threatening sanctions](#).

I don't believe that we are witnessing [a renewal of the Cold War](#). The tensions between Russia and the West are based more on misunderstandings, misrepresentations and posturing for domestic audiences than on any real clash of ideologies or national interests. And the issues are far fewer and much less dangerous than those we dealt with during the Cold War.

But a failure to appreciate how the Cold War ended has had a profound impact on Russian and Western attitudes — and helps explain what we are seeing now.

The common assumption that the West forced the collapse of the Soviet Union and thus won the Cold War is wrong. The fact is that the Cold War ended by negotiation to the advantage of both sides.

At the December 1989 Malta summit, Mikhail Gorbachev and President George H.W. Bush confirmed that the ideological basis for the war was gone, stating that the two nations [no longer regarded each other as enemies](#). Over the next two years, we worked more closely with the Soviets than with even some of our allies. Together, we halted the arms race, banned chemical weapons and agreed to drastically reduce nuclear weapons. I also witnessed the raising of the Iron Curtain, the liberation of Eastern Europe and the voluntary abandonment of communist ideology by the Soviet leader. Without an arms race ruining the Soviet economy and perpetuating totalitarianism, Gorbachev was freed to focus on internal reforms.

Because the collapse of the Soviet Union happened so soon afterward, people often confuse it with the end of the Cold War. But they were separate events, and the former was not an inevitable outcome of the latter.

Moreover, the breakup of the U.S.S.R. into 15 separate countries was not something the United States caused or wanted. We hoped that Gorbachev would forge a voluntary union of Soviet republics, minus the three Baltic countries. Bush made this clear in August 1991 when he urged the non-Russian Soviet republics to adopt the union treaty Gorbachev had proposed and warned against “suicidal nationalism.” Russians who regret the collapse of the Soviet Union should remember that it was the elected leader of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, who conspired with his Ukrainian and Belarusian counterparts to replace the U.S.S.R. with a loose and powerless “commonwealth.”

Even after the U.S.S.R. ceased to exist, Gorbachev maintained that “the end of the Cold War is our common victory.” Yet the United States insisted on treating Russia as the loser.

“By the grace of God, America won the Cold War,” Bush said during his 1992 State of the Union address. That rhetoric would not have been particularly damaging on its own. But it was reinforced by actions taken under the next three presidents.

President Bill Clinton supported NATO’s bombing of Serbia without U.N. Security Council approval and [the expansion of NATO](#) to include former Warsaw Pact countries. Those moves seemed to violate the understanding that the United States would not take advantage of the Soviet retreat from Eastern Europe. The effect on Russians’ trust in the United States was devastating. In 1991, polls indicated that about 80 percent of Russian citizens had a favorable view of the United States; in 1999, nearly the same percentage had an unfavorable view.

Vladimir Putin was elected in 2000 and initially followed a pro-Western orientation. When terrorists attacked the United States on Sept. 11, 2001, he was the first foreign leader to call and offer support. He cooperated with the United States when it invaded Afghanistan, and he voluntarily removed Russian bases from Cuba and Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam.

What did he get in return? Some meaningless praise from President George W. Bush, who then delivered the diplomatic equivalent of swift kicks to the groin: further expansion of NATO in the Baltics and the Balkans, and plans for American bases there; withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty; invasion of Iraq without U.N. Security Council approval; overt participation in the “color revolutions” in Ukraine, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan; and then, probing some of the firmest red lines any Russian leader would draw, talk of taking Georgia and Ukraine into NATO. Americans, heritors of the Monroe Doctrine, should have understood that Russia would be hypersensitive to foreign-dominated military alliances approaching or touching its borders.

President Obama famously attempted a “reset” of relations with Russia, with some success: The [New START treaty](#) was an important achievement, and there was increased quiet cooperation on a number of regional issues. But then Congress’s penchant for minding other people’s business when it cannot cope with its own began to take its toll. [The Magnitsky Act](#), which singled out Russia for human rights violations as if there were none of comparable gravity elsewhere, infuriated Russia’s rulers and confirmed with the broader public the image of the United States as an implacable enemy.

The sad fact is that the cycle of dismissive actions by the United States met by overreactions by Russia has so poisoned the relationship that the sort of quiet diplomacy used to end the Cold War was impossible when the crisis in Ukraine burst upon the world’s consciousness. It’s why 43 percent of Russians are ready to believe that Western actions are behind the crisis and that Russia is under siege.

Putin’s military occupation of Crimea has exacerbated the situation. If it leads to [the incorporation of Crimea in the Russian Federation](#), it may well result in a period of mutual recrimination and economic sanctions reminiscent of the Cold War. In that scenario, there would be no winners, only losers: most of all Ukraine itself, which may not survive in its present form, and Russia, which would become more isolated. Russia may also see a rise in terrorist acts from anti-Russian extremists on its periphery and more resistance from neighboring governments to membership in the economic union it is promoting.

Meanwhile, the United States and Europe would lose to the extent that a resentful Russia would make it even more difficult to address global and regional issues such as the Iranian nuclear program, North Korea and the Syrian civil war, to name a few. Russian policy in these areas has not always been all the United States desired, but it has been more helpful than many Americans realize. And encouraging a more obstructive Russia is not in anyone’s interest.

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Source: [The Washington Post](#)

Garry Kasparov: Cut Off the Russian Oligarchs and They'll Dump Putin

Target their assets abroad, their mansions and IPOs in London, their yachts. Use banks, not tanks.

By Garry Kasparov

March 7, 2014

The Wall Street Journal

For the second time in six years, Russian President [Vladimir Putin](#) has ordered Russian troops across an internationally recognized border to occupy territory. This fact must be stated plainly before any discussion of motives or consequences. Russian troops have taken Crimea and they are not leaving, despite the Ukrainian government's protests. Five hundred kilometers southeast across the Black Sea, Russian soldiers still occupy parts of Georgia—South Ossetia and Abkhazia—where they have been since Mr. Putin's 2008 invasion and de facto annexation.

Mr. Putin belongs to an exclusive club, along with Saddam Hussein and Slobodan Milošević, as one of the very few leaders to invade a neighboring nation in the nuclear age. Such raw expansionist aggression has been out of fashion since the time of Adolf Hitler, who eventually failed, and Joseph Stalin, who succeeded. Stalin's Red Army had its share of battlefield glory, but his real triumph came at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, three months before the end of the war in Europe. There Stalin bullied a feeble Franklin Roosevelt and a powerless Winston Churchill, redrawing the Polish borders and promising elections in Poland when he knew that the Communist government the Soviets were installing was there to stay.

Although it is a poignant coincidence, there is more to this look back to World War II than the fact that Yalta is located in Crimea. Mr. Putin's tactics are easily, and accurately, compared to those of the Austrian Anschluss and the Nazi occupation and annexation of the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia in 1938. There is the same rhetoric about protecting a threatened population, the same propaganda filled with lies, justifications, and accusations. Most of the Kremlin's statements about Crimea could have been translated from German, with "Fatherland" replaced by "Motherland." Mr. Putin is also following the Stalin model on Poland in Yalta: First invade, then negotiate. Crimea will be forced to hold a referendum on joining Russia in just 10 days, a vote on the Kremlin's preferred terms, at the point of a gun.

Mr. Putin's move in Crimea came just hours after now-former Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich scrambled up his puppet strings from Kiev to his master's hand in Russia. He left behind thousands of papers and a few palaces, evidence of the vast scale of his personal and political corruption. His ejection, bought in blood by the courageous people of Ukraine, made Mr. Putin look weak. Like any schoolyard bully or crime boss, he immediately found a way to look and feel tough again. The historically pivotal Crimean peninsula, with its large Russia-leaning population and geographic vulnerability (and a Russian naval base), was the obvious choice.

As I have said for years, it is a waste of time to attempt to discern deep strategy in Mr. Putin's actions. There are no complex national interests in a dictator's calculations. There are only personal interests, the interests of those close to him who keep him in power, and how best to consolidate that power. Without real elections or a free media, the only way a dictator can communicate with his subjects is through propaganda, and the only way he can validate his power is with regular shows of force.

Inside Russia, that force comes with repression against dissidents and civil rights that only accelerated during the distraction of the [Sochi Olympics](#). Abroad, force in the form of military action, trade sanctions or natural-gas extortion is applied wherever Mr. Putin thinks he can get away with it.

On Monday, the markets plummeted in response to the news that Russia had invaded a European nation. Just a few days later, as cautious statements emanated from the White House and the [European Union](#), most markets had rebounded fully. This was due to an illusion of a resolution, as if it matters little to the fate of the global economy that a huge nuclear power can casually snap off a piece of a neighboring country.

Thanks to their unfettered access to Western markets, Mr. Putin and his gang have exploited Western engagement with Russia in a way that the Soviet Union's leaders never dreamed of. But this also means that they are vulnerable in a way the Soviets were not. If the West punishes Russia with sanctions and a trade war, that might be effective eventually, but it would also be cruel to the 140 million Russians who live under Mr. Putin's rule. And it would be unnecessary. Instead, sanction the 140 oligarchs who would dump Mr. Putin in the trash tomorrow if he cannot protect their assets abroad. Target their visas, their mansions and IPOs in London, their yachts and Swiss bank accounts. Use banks, not tanks. Thursday, the U.S. announced such sanctions, but they must be matched by the [European Union](#) to be truly effective. Otherwise, Wall Street's loss is London's gain, and Mr. Putin's divide-and-conquer tactics work again.

If Mr. Putin succeeds—and if there is no united Western response, he will have succeeded regardless of whether or not Russian troops stay in Crimea—the world, or at least the world order, as we know it will have ended. The post-1945 universe of territorial integrity has been ripped asunder and it will have a far-reaching impact no matter what the markets and pundits say over the next few days.

For those who ask what the consequences will be of inaction by the free world over Ukraine, I say you are looking at it. This is the price for inaction in Georgia, for inaction in Syria. It means the same thing happening again and again until finally it cannot be ignored. The price of inaction against a dictator's aggression is always having a next time. And in this market, the longer you wait, the higher that price gets.

Mr. Kasparov is chairman of the Human Rights Foundation in New York.

Source: <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702303824204579422971651210180>

“The pattern of disinformation used during the implementation of a long-range policy may be called the 'weakness and evolution' pattern, or the pattern of 'calculated ideological moderation.' Its aim is to calm the fears of the adversaries of international communism by understating real communist strength and to confound the policies of those adversaries by masking the realities of communist policy. When following this pattern, therefore, disinformation reflects real or imaginary weaknesses, splits, and crises in the communist world and projects an image of evolution away from an ideological toward a conventional, national system. The intention is that the nations of the noncommunist world, accepting the alleged disunity and evolution of the communist world as genuine, will fail to respond effectively to communist offensive strategy and, in their confusion, will be induced to make practical miscalculations and mistakes in their dealings with the communist world. The major role of disinformation in the weakness and evolution pattern is to conceal and misrepresent the real nature, objectives, tactics, and techniques of communist policy.

In order to gain and exploit temporary, tactical political allies and to avoid alarming them, efforts are made to conceal or understate the actual strength and aggressiveness of communism. Factual information favorable to communist regimes is withheld or downgraded; unfavorable information is disclosed, leaked, or invented. Given that communist, unlike democratic, governments are not concerned about their electoral prospects, they can afford to reveal true or false information unfavorable to themselves. During a period of policy implementation, real and artificial weaknesses in the system are emphasized; readjustments and solutions are presented as failures; ideological differences between communist and noncommunist systems are played down; calculated moderation in, and even some departures from, communist dogma are permitted; common features and common interests between communist and democratic systems are overemphasized or exaggerated; long-range communist objectives and coordinated action in pursuit of them are hidden. But the major feature of this pattern is the projection of alleged splits and crises in the communist world and the alleged evolution of communist states into independent, conventional nation-states motivated like any others primarily by national interests. The pattern determines the forms and means. Special disinformation operations play the leading part; propaganda is relegated to a supporting role.

The Precedent of the NEP

The weakness and evolution pattern was used successfully by Lenin in the 1920s. In 1921 Soviet Russia faced imminent collapse. Industry lay ruined by the war; agriculture was in crisis. The Russian people, disillusioned by the rigid policy of 'war communism,' were on the brink of revolt; the policy of terror was proving ineffective; there were peasant uprisings in Siberia and along the Volga; nationalist movements in the Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and Central Asia were openly proclaiming separatism and posed a serious threat to national unity; the sailors at the Kronstadt Naval Base revolted. Abroad, the hopes of world revolution had faded after communist defeats in Germany, Poland, and Hungary. The major European powers, although not united, were individually hostile to communism and to the new Soviet state; a huge Russian emigre movement, spread across Europe, was plotting the overthrow of the regime. Soviet Russia was in complete political and economic isolation.

It was in this situation, facing a highly unfavorable balance of power vis-a-vis the West, that Lenin conceived and launched a long-range policy that, over the following eight years, was to show spectacular success. It was given the deliberately misleading title of the New Economic Policy, or NEP. In fact, it ranged far beyond the economy, defining also the principal political and ideological objectives and tactics for the regime internally and externally and the strategy for the international communist movement. Within the terms of the NEP, the Soviet leaders were to eliminate separatism by creating a federation of national republics, the USSR. They were to introduce national long-term economic planning. They were to plan and build an electric power system to cover and bind together the whole country. They were to start to change the world balance of power in communist favor.

To the world at large, the NEP meant that foreign industrialists were offered concessions in Soviet industry and invited to open businesses in Soviet Russia; that Soviet industrial enterprises were to be reorganized as trusts and operated on a profit basis; that smaller enterprises and properties could be owned by cooperatives or private individuals; that money was back in use and private trade permitted; that restrictions on travel were relaxed; that emigres were encouraged to return under amnesty, while some Soviet citizens were allowed to emigrate; and that Soviet diplomacy was seeking peaceful coexistence with the West.

The Soviet leaders saw it differently. They intended that the NEP would not only bring about economic recovery, but would also serve to prevent internal revolt, expand foreign trade, attract foreign capital and expertise, gain diplomatic recognition from non-communist countries, prevent major conflict with the Western powers, help to exploit the contradictions in and between the capitalist countries, neutralize the emigre movement, and help to promote world revolution through the communist movement.

Lenin believed that this fundamentally aggressive and ideological policy could prove effective if it was accompanied by the systematic use of misrepresentation and deception, or, to use the current word, disinformation. The characteristics of this disinformation were an apparent moderation in communist ideology, the avoidance of references to violence in communist methods, the exaggeration of the degree of the restoration of capitalism in Soviet Russia, the use of a sober and businesslike style in diplomatic and commercial negotiations with the West, and emphasis on disarmament and peaceful coexistence. All of this was intended to induce the belief in the outside world that the communist system was weak and losing its revolutionary ardor. Left to itself, it would either disintegrate or come to terms with the capitalist system.

The Soviet security service was reorganized, renamed the OGPU, and given new political tasks. It was directed to mount disinformation and political operations. False opposition movements were set up and controlled secretly by the OGPU. They were designed to attract to their ranks genuine opponents of the regime inside and outside the country. These innocent persons could then be used by the regime in various ways. They could act as channels for disinformation; they could be blackmailed and recruited as agents; they could be arrested and given public trials. A characteristic, but not unique, example of this technique is provided by the so-called 'Trust' operation. In 1921, as the NEP was being launched, the OGPU created inside Soviet Russia a false anti-Soviet organization, the Monarchist Alliance of Central Russia. It had once been a genuine organization, founded by Czarist generals in Moscow and Leningrad but liquidated by the Soviet security service in 1919-20. Former members of this organization, among them Czarist generals and members of the old aristocracy who had come over to the Soviet side, nominally led the movement. Their new loyalty to the Soviet regime was not in doubt, for they had betrayed their former friends in the anticommunist underground. They were the Czarist generals Brusilov and Zaynchkovski; the Czarist military attache in Yugoslavia, General Potapov; and the Czarist transport official Yakushev. The most active agent in the Trust was a former intelligence officer of the General Staff in Czarist Russia whose many names included Opperput. Agents of the Trust traveled abroad and established confidential contact with genuine anticommunist emigre leaders in order (ostensibly) to coordinate activity against the Soviet regime. Among the important emigres they met were Boris Savinkov and Generals Wrangel and Kutepov.

These agents confided in their contacts that the anti-Soviet monarchist movement that they represented was now well established in Soviet Russia, had penetrated into the higher levels of the army, the security service, and even the government, and would in time take power and restore the monarchy. They convinced the emigre leaders that the regime had undergone a radical change. Communism had completely failed; ideology was dead; the present leaders had nothing in common with the fanatical revolutionaries of the past. They were nationalists at heart, and their regime was evolving into a moderate, national regime and might soon collapse. The NEP should be seen as the first important concession on the road to restoring capitalism in Russia. Soon political concessions would follow. Because of this, said the Trust agents, any intervention or gesture of hostility from the European powers or the emigre movements would be ill-advised, if not tragic, since it would only unite the Russian people around their government and so extend its survival. The European governments and the emigre leaders should put a stop to anti-Soviet terrorist activities and change their attitude from hostility toward the Soviet regime to one of passive acceptance. They should grant diplomatic recognition and increase trade. In this way they would have a better opportunity to contribute to the evolutionary process. The emigre leaders should return to Russia to make their contribution. Naturally there were doubters among the emigres, but the prestige of the leaders of the organization (particularly, of General Brusilov) convinced the majority. They accepted at face value the Trust's disinformation and passed it on to their influential friends in the European intelligence services. By the time it had been circulated to governments as 'secret' intelligence it sounded most impressive, and when as time went on the same story was confirmed by source after source, it became 'secret and reliable.' The intelligence services of Europe were committed and it was unthinkable that they could all be wrong.

While the Trust was thriving the OGPU took control, wholly or partially, of two other movements calculated to influence the political climate in support of the NEP. They were the 'Change of Signposts' movement and the 'Eurasian' movement. The first was used by the Soviet security service to mislead emigres and intellectuals in Europe into believing that the strength of communist ideology was on the wane and that the Soviet regime was evolving into a more moderate, national state. The movement published, with unofficial government assistance, a weekly magazine in Prague and Paris, *The Change of Signposts*, and in Berlin a paper, *On the Eve*. In 1922, at some risk, the Soviet government allowed two magazines to be published in Leningrad and Moscow, *New Russia* and *Russia*. They were intended to exert a similar influence on intellectuals inside the country.

By 1926 all publications of the Change of Signposts movement had been wound up, the movement disbanded, and some of its leaders in the Soviet Union arrested. An official Soviet publication partially confirms the exploitation of the movement and describes its end. Shortly afterward, operation Trust was terminated with the arrest of those opponents of the regime who had been unwise enough to reveal themselves as such by associating with the Trust. The NEP was officially ended by Stalin in 1929 with what was called 'a socialist offensive on all fronts.' The concessions to foreign industrialists were canceled; private enterprise in the Soviet Union was prohibited; private property was confiscated; agriculture was collectivized; repression of political opposition was intensified. The NEP might never have been.

The Results of the NEP

Agriculture, industry, and trade all improved dramatically under the NEP. Although the NEP failed to attract large credits from the West, it brought technology and efficient new equipment. Thousands of Western technicians helped to industrialize the Soviet Union, and Western firms built essential factories there. It is fair to say that the foundations of Soviet heavy and military industry were laid in the 1920s with American, British, Czechoslovak, and, after the Treaty of Rapallo (1922), German help. Germany played an especially significant role in the Soviet militarization. According to the secret clauses of the treaty, Germans helped to build modern aviation and tank factories in the USSR. Communists spoke cynically of foreign concessionaires and businessmen as 'assistants of socialism.' Longrange planning and industrialization were launched. De jure recognition of the Soviet Union by the West helped the regime to neutralize internal opposition and so to stabilize itself politically. The remnants of other political parties (Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Zionists) were suppressed, liquidated, or exiled. The peasants were pacified. The independence of the churches was broken and new, controlled 'living churches' accepted the regime. The nationalist and separatist movements in Georgia, the Ukraine, Armenia, and the Asian republics were crushed and their nations fully incorporated into the federal union. No new organized political opposition to the regime emerged during the NEP. Regular purges of communist party membership kept ideological purity intact; a minority of members succumbed to the temptations of capitalism and were expelled. The party and security service gained experience in activist methods and in controlling contacts with the West. The security service began to exercise effective control over Soviet society.

The European bloc that it was anticipated would be formed against the Soviet Union did not materialize. De jure recognition was granted by all major countries except the USA. The Russian emigre movement was successfully penetrated, discredited, and left to disintegrate. The Treaty of Rapallo, signed with Germany in 1922 (the crowning achievement of Lenin's activist diplomacy), raised Soviet prestige, helped to increase Soviet military strength, precluded a united anticommunist front in Europe, and weakened the Weimar Republic.

Between 1921 and 1929 twelve new communist parties joined the Comintern, bringing the total to forty-six. By the use of legal tactics, communist parties increased their influence in trade unions and parliaments. Though the bid to form a united front with the Socialist Internationals failed, some socialist parties—the German, French, Spanish, and Czechoslovak—split under the influence of the communist approach; the left-wing groups joined communist parties or formed new ones. Valuable experience was gained by the Comintern in the simultaneous use of revolutionary as well as legal tactics, in its readiness to switch from the one to the other, and in its ability to coordinate with Soviet diplomacy. United front tactics were successfully used by the communists in Nationalist China. Mongolia became the first Soviet satellite.

The Lesson of the NEP

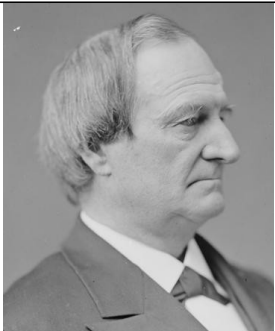
The disinformation of the NEP period had been successful. Seen through Western eyes, the threat of communism under the NEP seemed to have become diffused. Fear of Bolshevism waned. The position of anticommunists was undermined. Expectations of rapprochement were aroused. The Western public, reluctant to make sacrifices, urged their governments toward further accommodation with the Soviet regime. In reality, of course, the challenge of communism had been reinforced: Western expectations were later to be rudely shattered. But the communist strategists had learned the lesson that Western leaders could be deceived and induced to make mistakes in their assessments of, and policy toward, the Soviet Union. Disinformation had in fact created favorable conditions for the success of Soviet internal policy, activist diplomacy, and Comintern activity.”

“IF A COMMUNIST REGIME IS IN A STATE OF CRISIS, if the regime is weak, if its leadership is split or compromised, the logical pattern for disinformation is to conceal the crisis and its dimensions, to attract attention to other areas and problems, and to present the situation both domestically and to the outside world in as favorable a light as possible. This is the “facade and strength,” or Potemkin village, pattern of disinformation. It has been applied in all communist countries, including, for example, China and Romania as well as the Soviet Union. The general pattern of disinformation determines the forms it takes and the techniques used. **In the facade and strength pattern, information damaging to the regime is suppressed and information favorable to it is exaggerated. The real issues are reflected vaguely, if at all, in the press. Statistics are withheld or inflated. Propaganda plays a leading role to the extent that it becomes in itself the main form of disinformation. Special deceptions are carried out to support the credibility of the propaganda. The failures and weakness of the regime are presented as its successes and strengths. Political and ideological passivity and retreat are presented as political and ideological victories. Concern about the future is presented as confidence.** The fears of the outside world at communist strength are deliberately aroused and the communist threat is exaggerated out of proportion to its actual potential in order to discourage external intervention in communist affairs.” – *New Lies for Old* by Anatoliy Golitsyn, p. 18

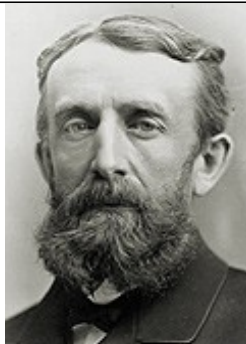
Skull & Bones Members and The Russian Intrigue: Organized Crime?



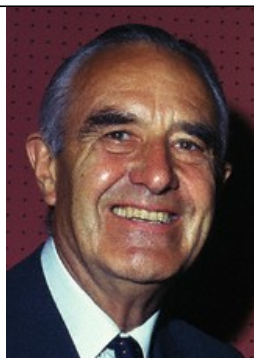
Charles Bohlen (left) watches U.S. Ambassador to Soviet Union Averell Harriman (center) shake hands with Soviet Commissar Josef Stalin during a meeting at Yalta Conference in February 1945. Averell Harriman was a Wall Street banker (partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. banking firm in New York City), a member of the Council on Foreign Relations from 1923 until his death in 1986, and a member of Skull & Bones at Yale University.



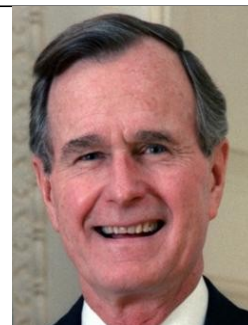
Alphonso Taft
B.A. Yale 1833
U.S. Minister to the
Russian Empire
(1884-1885)



Andrew D. White
B.A. Yale 1853
U.S. Minister to the
Russian Empire
(1892-1894);
inaugural President of
Cornell University
(1866-1885)



W. Averell Harriman
B.A. Yale 1913
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1943-1946)



George H.W. Bush
B.A. Yale 1948
President of the United
States (1989-1993)



John Forbes Kerry
B.A. Yale 1966
U.S. Secretary of State
(2013-present)

Russo-Ukrainian War: In Their Own Words



Gen. Smedley D. Butler

“War is a racket. It always has been. It is possibly the oldest, easily the most profitable, surely the most vicious. It is the only one international in scope. It is the only one in which the profits are reckoned in dollars and the losses in lives. A racket is best described, I believe, as something that is not what it seems to the majority of the people. Only a small “inside” group knows what it is about. It is conducted for the benefit of the very few, at the expense of the very many. Out of war a few people make huge fortunes.”

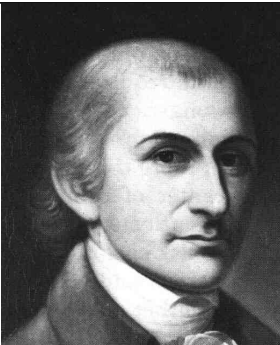
– Smedley D. Butler, Retired Major General of the U.S. Marine Corps, *War is a Racket*



Hermann Goering

“Why, of course the people don’t want war. Why would some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best that he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece? Naturally, the common people don’t want war; neither in Russia nor in England, nor in America, nor for that matter in Germany. That is understood. But, after all, it is the leaders of the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along whether it’s a democracy, a fascist dictatorship, a parliament, or a communist dictatorship. ...but voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in any country.”

– Hermann Goering, in a conversation with U.S. Army Captain Gustave Gilbert in a prison cell during the Nuremberg trials, on April 18, 1946. from *Nuremberg Diary*, by Gustave M. Gilbert



John Jay

“But the safety of the people of America against dangers from *foreign* force depends not only on their forbearing to give *just* causes of war to other nations, but also on their placing and continuing themselves in such a situation as not to *invite* hostility or insult; for it need not be observed that there are *pretended* as well as just causes of war. It is too true, however disgraceful it may be to human nature, that nations in general will make war whenever they have a prospect of getting anything by it; nay, absolute monarchs will often make war when their nations are to get nothing by it, but for the purposes and objects merely personal, such as thirst for military glory, revenge for personal affronts, ambition, or private compacts to aggrandize or support their particular families or partisans. These and a variety of other motives, which affect only the mind of the sovereign, often lead him to engage in wars not sanctified by justice or the voice and interests of his people.”

– John Jay, *Federalist* No. 4



James Madison

“Of all the enemies to public liberty war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded, because it comprises and develops the germ of every other. War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debts and taxes; and armies, and debts, and taxes are the known instruments for bringing the many under the domination of the few. In war, too, the discretionary power of the Executive is extended; its influence in dealing out offices, honors, and emoluments is multiplied; and all the means of seducing the minds, are added to those of subduing the force, of the people. The same malignant aspect in republicanism may be traced in the inequality of fortunes, and the opportunities of fraud, growing out of a state of war, and in the degeneracy of manners and of morals engendered by both. No nation could preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare.”

– U.S. Congressman James Madison, from *Political Observations*, April 20, 1795

Russian Neo-Communist Treachery and Terrorism in the Ukraine



Pro-Russian rebels scuffle with Ukrainian police officers near the regional government building in Donetsk, Ukraine on April 6, 2014. (REUTERS/Mikhail Maslovsky)



Pro-Russian thugs scuffle with the police near the regional government building in Donetsk, Ukraine on April 6, 2014. (REUTERS/Mikhail Maslovsky)



A pro-Russian thug breaks a window as they storm the regional government building in Donetsk, Ukraine on April 6, 2014. Around 100 pro-Russian protesters stormed the regional government building in the eastern Ukrainian city of Donetsk on Sunday and hung up a Russian flag in defiance of Kiev's pro-European government. Signs on a banner read Donetsk Republic. (REUTERS/Mikhail Maslovsky)



Pro-Russian thugs (top) stand in front of riot police near the regional government building in Donetsk, Ukraine on April 6, 2014. Around 100 pro-Russian protesters stormed the regional government building in the eastern Ukrainian city of Donetsk on Sunday and hung up a Russian flag in defiance of Kiev's pro-European government. (REUTERS/Mikhail Maslovsky)



Pro-Russian thugs stand behind a banner as they storm the regional government building in Donetsk, Ukraine on April 6, 2014. The banner reads, "Donetsk Republic." (REUTERS/Mikhail Maslovsky)



Pro-Russian protesters take part in a rally in front of the regional government building in Donetsk, Ukraine on April 6, 2014. Around 100 pro-Russian protesters stormed the regional government building in the eastern Ukrainian city of Donetsk on Sunday and hung up a Russian flag in defiance of Kiev's pro-European government. (REUTERS/Stringer)



Pro-Russian rebels hold a huge Russian national flag in front of the regional administration building in Donetsk, Ukraine on Sunday, April 6, 2014. In Donetsk a large group of people surged into the provincial government building and smashed windows. A gathering of several hundred, many of them waving Russian flags, then listened to speeches delivered from a balcony emblazoned with a banner reading "Donetsk Republic". (AP Photo/Andrey Besevich)



A pro-Russian thug scuffles with the police officers near the regional government building in Donetsk, Ukraine on April 6, 2014. (REUTERS/Stringer)



A pro-Russian protester sets on fire an effigy depicting Stepan Bandera, one of the founders of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, during a rally in Donetsk, Ukraine on April 6, 2014. (REUTERS/Stringer)



Pro-Russian rebels walk at a barricade in front an entrance of the Ukrainian regional office of the Security Service in Luhansk, 30 kilometers (20 miles) west of the Russian border, Ukraine, Monday, April 7, 2014. (AP Photo/Igor Golovnirov)



Pro-Russian protesters gather inside the offices of the state security service in Luhansk, Ukraine April 7, 2014. (REUTERS/Stringer)



Communist lawmakers scuffle with right-wing Svoboda (Freedom) Party lawmakers during a parliament session of Verkhovna Rada, the Ukrainian parliament, in Kiev, Ukraine on Tuesday, April 8, 2014. (AP Photo/Vladimir Strumkovsky)



Communist lawmakers scuffle with right-wing Svoboda (Freedom) Party lawmakers during a parliament session of Verkhovna Rada, the Ukrainian parliament, in Kiev, Ukraine on Tuesday, April 8, 2014. (AP Photo/Vladimir Strumkovsky)



A view through a broken window of the regional administration building shows a cordon of Interior Ministry members blocking a group of pro-Russian protesters in Kharkiv, Ukraine on April 8, 2014. (REUTERS/Stringer)



Members of a Special police unit guard the regional administration building in Kharkiv, Ukraine on Tuesday, April 8, 2014. Tuesday morning the regional administration building of Kharkiv region was completely cleared of separatists. During the liberation of the building, guns and hand grenades were used against police. Several policemen were badly injured. During the liberation of the regional administration seventy criminals were detained. (AP Photo/Olga Ivashchenko)



Pro-Russian rebels gather in front of an entrance of the Ukrainian regional office of the Security Service in Luhansk, Ukraine on Tuesday, April 8, 2014. The Donetsk and Kharkiv regions and a third Russian-speaking city besieged by pro-Moscow activists over the weekend, Luhansk have a combined population of nearly 10 million out of Ukraine's 46 million, and account for the bulk of the country's industrial output. (AP Photo/Igor Golovnirov)



A masked pro-Russian thug poses for a photo in front of barricades at the Ukrainian regional office of the Security Service in Luhansk, eastern Ukraine on Wednesday, April 9, 2014. Interior Minister of Ukraine Arsen Avakov announced that the standoff in Luhansk and eastern regions of Donetsk and Kharkiv must be resolved within two days. (AP Photo/Igor Golovnirov)



Pro-Russian rebels build a barricade in front of the regional administration building in Donetsk, Ukraine on Thursday, April 10, 2014. The acting president of Ukraine on Thursday promised pro-Russian activists occupying government buildings in the country's east that they will not be prosecuted if they lay down their arms, as protests continue to flare up across Ukraine's industrial heartland. (AP Photo/Efrem Lukatsky)



Demonstrators carry Russian flags in support of pro-Russian protesters in eastern Ukraine, in Simferopol, Crimea on Thursday, April 10, 2014. Demonstrators marched and held a rally in support of pro-Russian protesters occupying government buildings in the eastern Ukrainian cities of Donetsk and Luhansk. (AP Photo/Max Vetrov)



A Ukrainian military convoy travels along a road near the city of Donetsk on April 10, 2014. NATO presented satellite photographs on Thursday it said showed Russian deployments of 40,000 troops near the Ukrainian frontier along with tanks, armored vehicles, artillery and aircraft ready for action. (REUTERS/Maks Levin)



Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk, center, speaks during his meeting with regional leaders in Donetsk, Ukraine on Friday, April 11, 2014. Yatsenyuk on Friday told leaders in the country's restive east that he is committed to allowing regions to have more powers. Yatsenyuk Friday morning flew into Donetsk, where pro-Russian separatists are occupying the regional administration building and calling for a referendum that could prefigure seeking annexation by Russia. (AP Photo/Efrem Lukatsky)



Masked pro-Russian rebels look out of a window of the regional prosecutor's office they seized and barricaded inside, as riot police stand, in Donetsk, Ukraine on Saturday, April 12, 2014. Saturday morning a group of pro-Russian activists armed with metal sticks seized the office. They have left the building after talks with police; nobody was arrested.
(AP Photo/Efrem Lukatsky)



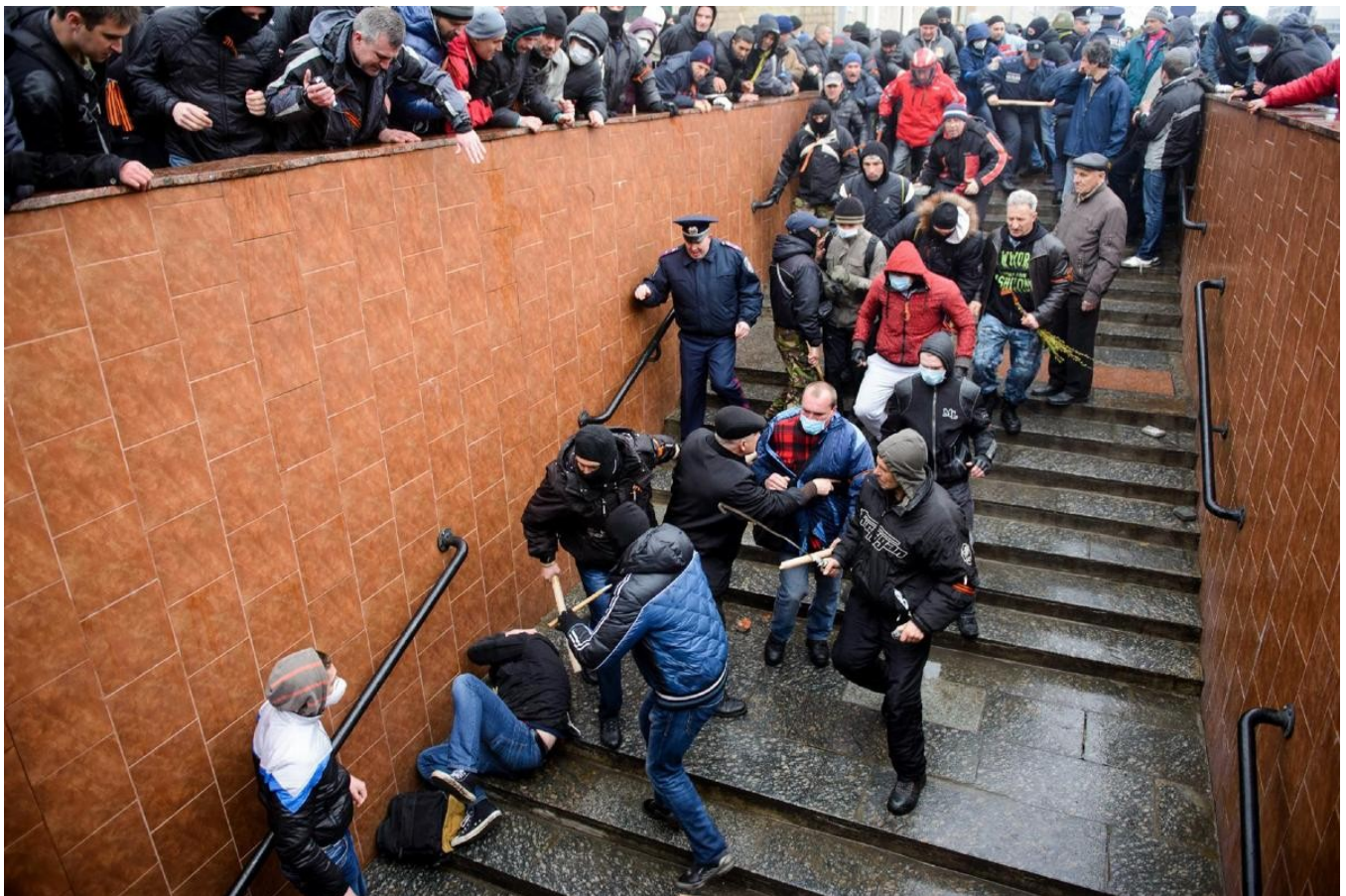
A pro-Russian rebel holds a Soviet flag in front of the seized office of the SBU state security service in Luhansk, Ukraine on April 13, 2014. Armed separatists took control of a city in eastern Ukraine on Saturday and Kiev prepared troops to tackle what it called an “act of aggression by Russia”, pushing the conflict between the neighbors into a dangerous new phase.
(REUTERS/Shamil Zhumatov)



Suspected Russian soldiers in disguise occupy the police station in Slovyansk, eastern Ukraine as they carry riot shields on Saturday, April 12, 2014. Pro-Moscow protesters have seized a number of government buildings in the east over the past week, undermining the authority of the interim government in the capital, Kiev. (AP Photo/Efrem Lukatsky)



A pro-Russian gunman stands guard at a seized police station in Slovyansk, Ukraine on Sunday, April 13, 2014. Pro-Moscow protesters have seized a number of government buildings in the east over the past week, undermining the authority of the interim government in the capital, Kiev. (AP Photo/Efrem Lukatsky)



Pro-Russian thugs beat a pro-Western activist who lies on the stairs during a pro-Russian rally in Kharkiv, Ukraine on Sunday, April 13, 2014. Two rival rallies in Kharkiv turned violent after a group of pro-Russian protesters followed several pro-Ukrainian activists, beating them with baseball bats and sticks. (AP Photo/ Olga Ivashchenko)



A masked pro-Russian rebel discards a Ukrainian flag after replacing it with a Russian flag on a ledge above a police station stormed by a mob in Horlivka, eastern Ukraine on Monday, April 14, 2014. The text reads: "Ukrainian police station in Horlivka". Ukraine's acting President Oleksandr Turchynov on Monday called for the deployment of United Nations peacekeeping troops in the east of the country, where pro-Russian insurgents have occupied buildings in nearly 10 cities. (AP Photo/Efrem Lukatsky)



Pro-Russian rebels storm a police station in Horlivka, eastern Ukraine on Monday, April 14, 2014. Ukraine's acting President Oleksandr Turchynov on Monday called for the deployment of United Nations peacekeeping troops in the east of the country, where pro-Russian insurgents have occupied buildings in nearly 10 cities. (AP Photo/Efrem Lukatsky)



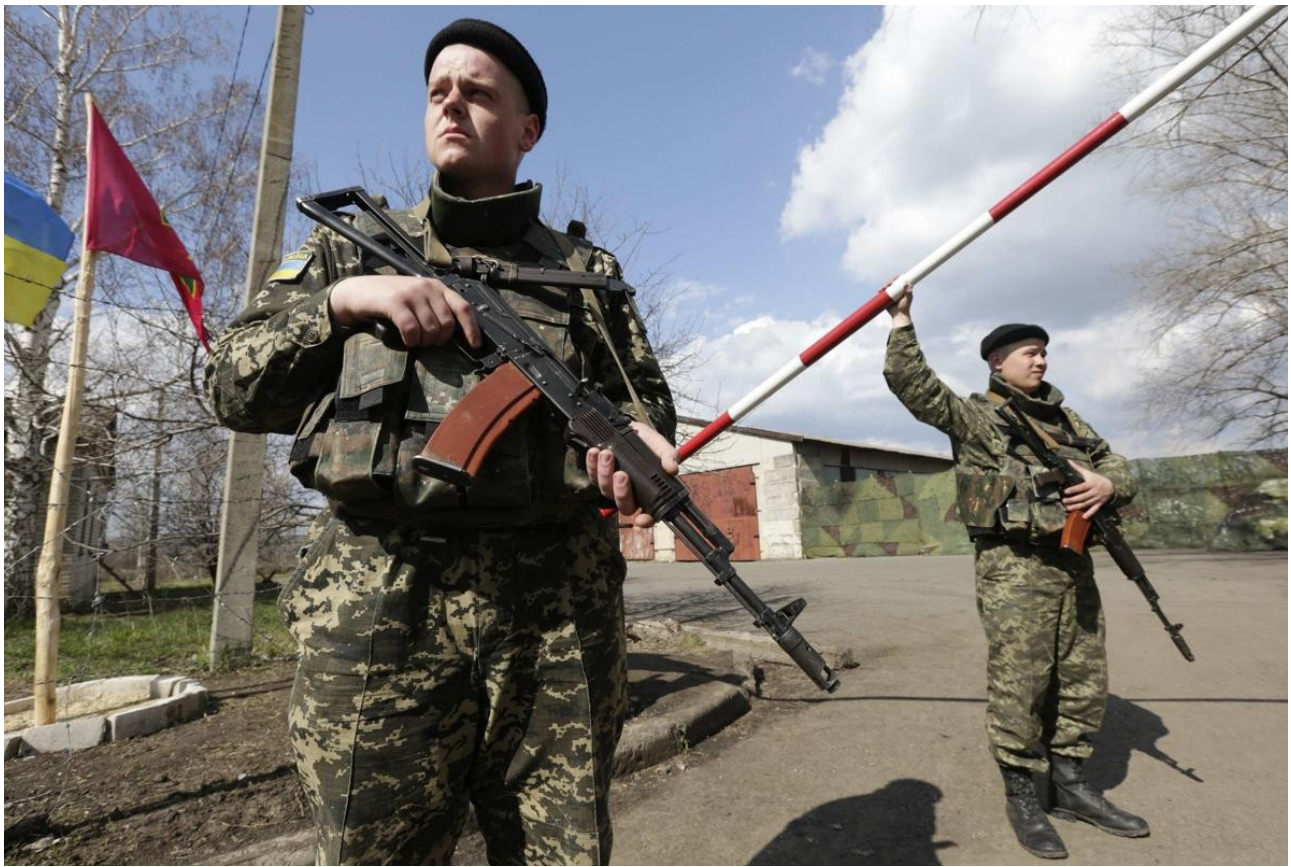
The head of the local police station Herman Pristupa brandishes firearms at the entrance to a police headquarters stormed by pro-Russian activists in Horlivka, Ukraine on Monday, April 14, 2014. Ukraine's acting President Oleksandr Turchynov on Monday called for the deployment of United Nations peacekeeping troops in the east of the country, where pro-Russian insurgents have occupied buildings in nearly 10 cities. (AP Photo/Efrem Lukatsky)



Commander of the Slaviansk self-defence battalion Vyacheslav Ponomaryov addresses the media at the mayor's office in Slaviansk, Ukraine on April 14, 2014. Pro-Russian separatists who said they were part of a new "Donetsk People's Republic" in eastern Ukraine appealed on Monday for Russian President Vladimir Putin to help defend them against Ukrainian government forces. (REUTERS/Gleb Garanich)



Pro-Russia protesters rough up an Ukrainian General, Genady Krutov (center-right), in front of a Ukrainian airbase in Kramatorsk, in eastern Ukraine April 15, 2014. Ukrainian armed forces on Tuesday launched a "special operation" against militiamen in the country's Russian speaking east, authorities said, recapturing a military airfield from pro-Moscow separatists. (REUTERS/Marko Djurica)



Ukrainian border guards stand on guard at a base close to the Russian border near Donetsk on April 15, 2014. Ukrainian armed forces on Tuesday launched a "special operation" against militiamen in the country's Russian speaking east, authorities said, recapturing a military airfield from pro-Moscow separatists. (REUTERS/Konstantin Chernichkin)



A fighter jet flies above as Ukrainian soldiers sit on an armoured personnel carrier in Kramatorsk, in eastern Ukraine on April 16, 2014. Ukrainian government forces and separatist pro-Russian militia staged rival shows of force in eastern Ukraine on Wednesday amid escalating rhetoric on the eve of crucial four-power talks in Geneva on the former Soviet country's future. (REUTERS/Marko Djurica)



Soldiers of the Ukrainian Army sit atop combat vehicles as they are blocked by people on their way to the town of Kramatorsk, Ukraine on Wednesday, April 16, 2014. Pro-Russian insurgents commandeered six Ukrainian armored vehicles along with their crews and hoisted Russian flags over them Wednesday, dampening the central government's hopes of re-establishing control over restive eastern Ukraine. (AP Photo/Manu Brabo)



Ukrainian soldiers clash with pro-Russian protesters in a field near Kramatorsk, in eastern Ukraine on April 16, 2014. Ukrainian forces tightened their grip on the eastern town of Kramatorsk on Wednesday after securing control over an airfield from pro-Russian separatist militiamen, prompting Russian President Vladimir Putin to warn of the risk of civil war. (REUTERS/Marko Djurica)



A combat vehicle with suspected Russian soldiers in disguise on top runs through downtown Slovyansk, Ukraine on Wednesday, April 16, 2014. The troops on those vehicles were green camouflage uniforms, had automatic weapons and grenade launchers and at least one had the St. George ribbon attached to his uniform, which has become a symbol of the pro-Russian insurgency in eastern Ukraine. (AP Photo/Efrem Lukatsky)



A combat vehicle with suspected Russian soldiers in disguise on top runs through downtown Slovyansk, Ukraine on Wednesday, April 16, 2014. The troops on those vehicles were green camouflage uniforms, had automatic weapons and grenade launchers and at least one had the St. George ribbon attached to his uniform, which has become a symbol of the pro-Russian insurgency in eastern Ukraine. (AP Photo/Efrem Lukatsky)



A column of combat vehicles with a Russian flag on the front one makes its way to the town of Kramatorsk on Wednesday, April 16, 2014. An Associated Press reporter said he saw a column of combat vehicles in an eastern Ukrainian city, occupied by pro-Russian insurgents and flying Russian flags. (AP Photo/ Evgeniy Maloletka)



A policeman (right) stands next to students attending a pro-Ukrainian rally in Luhansk, eastern Ukraine on April 17, 2014. Ukrainian, Russian and Western diplomats arrived for the emergency talks in Switzerland, but there was little hope of any progress in resolving a crisis that has seen armed pro-Russian fighters seize whole swathes of Ukraine. (REUTERS/Shamil Zhumatov)



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, left, shakes hands with Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov for a bilateral meeting to discuss the ongoing situation in Ukraine as diplomats from the U.S., Ukraine, Russia and the European Union gather for discussions in Geneva, Switzerland on Thursday, April 17, 2014. Ukraine is hoping to placate Russia and calm hostilities with its neighbor even as the U.S. prepares a new round of sanctions to punish Moscow for what it regards as fomenting unrest. (AP Photo/Jim Bourg, Pool)



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, left, meets with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Andrii Deshchytsia for a bilateral meeting to discuss the ongoing situation in Ukraine as diplomats from the United States, Ukraine, Russia and the European Union gather for discussions in Geneva, Switzerland on Thursday, April 17, 2014. (AP Photo/Jim Bourg, Pool)



United States Secretary of State John Forbes Kerry, Assistant U.S. Secretary of State Victoria Nuland, Foreign Minister of Russia Sergey Lavrov, and Foreign Minister of Ukraine Andrii Deshchychtsia appear before a quadrilateral meeting focused on Ukraine during a conference in Geneva, Switzerland on April 17, 2014. (State Department photo/ Public Domain)



U.S. Secretary of State John Forbes Kerry, Foreign Minister of Russia Sergey Lavrov, Foreign Minister of Ukraine Andrii Deshchychtsia, and European Union High Representative Catherine Ashton sit across from one another in Geneva, Switzerland, on April 17, 2014, before a quadrilateral meeting focused on Ukraine. (State Department photo by Eric Bridiers/ Public Domain)



A group of ethnic Russian guest workers carry a banner proclaiming a so-called "Donetsk People's Republic" in Donetsk, Ukraine in April 2014.



Ukrainian soldiers stand guard at a checkpoint not far from Slavyansk, Ukraine in May 2014.

Ukraine faces pro-Russian insurgency in the east

Regions in eastern Ukraine bordering Russia are getting increasingly armed and unstable. Russia itself has tens of thousands of troops stationed along the border. NATO is strengthening its military footprint along its eastern border in response to Russia's aggression.



Ukrainian government troops guard a checkpoint just outside Slovyansk, eastern Ukraine on May 2, 2014. Ukraine launched what appeared to be its first major assault against pro-Russian (pro-Kremlin) thugs who have seized government buildings in eastern Ukraine, with fighting breaking out in a city that has become the focus of the insurgency. (AP Photo/Andrei Petrov)



A protestor throws a petrol bomb at the trade union building in Odessa May 2, 2014. At least 38 people were killed in a fire on Friday in the trade union building in the centre of Ukraine's southern port city of Odessa, regional police said. (REUTERS/Yevgeny Volokin)



A pro-Russian activist aims a pistol at supporters of the Kiev government during clashes in the streets of Odessa May 2, 2014. Police said a man was shot dead in clashes between a crowd backing Kiev and pro-Russian activists in the largely Russian-speaking southern port of Odessa, which lies west of Crimea, annexed by Moscow in March. (REUTERS/Yevgeny Volokin)



Ukrainian Interior Ministry security forces members block participants of a rally outside a city police department in the Black Sea port of Odessa, Ukraine on May 4, 2014. Ukrainian Prime Minister Arseny Yatseniuk accused Russia on Sunday of engineering clashes in Odessa that led to the deaths of more than 40 pro-Russian activists in a blazing building and pushed the country closer to civil war. (REUTERS/Gleb Garanich)



Foreign Minister of Germany Frank-Walter Steinmeier (third from left) and Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk (right) attend a meeting in Kiev, Ukraine on May 13, 2014. Steinmeier flew to Ukraine Tuesday to help start talks between the Ukrainian government and its foes following the declaration of independence by two eastern region. (AP Photo/Andrew Kravchenko, Pool)



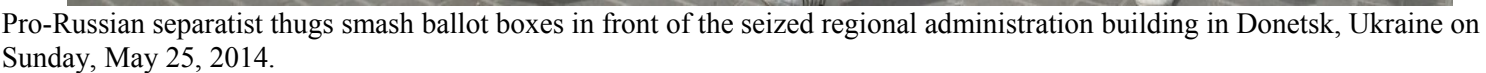
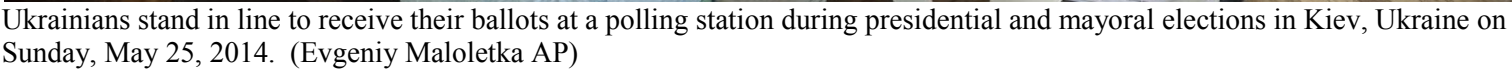
Ukrainian oligarch and businessman Rinat Leonidovych Akhmetov (left) appears with Viktor Yanukovich (center, later disgraced President of Ukraine), and Viktor Chernomyrdin. Akhmetov opposes the attempted partition of eastern Ukraine.



Workers of Illich Iron & Steel Works factory gather together holding posters "March. Discipline." during an anti-war rally in Mariupol, eastern Ukraine on Tuesday, May 20, 2014. Ukrainian metals tycoon Rinat Akhmetov, riding a wave of public dismay with the fighting, issued a strong call against the mutiny in the east, which he described as a "fight against the citizens of our region" that has devastated Ukraine's industrial heartland. Last week, his company organized citizen patrols of steelworkers who worked alongside police in Mariupol to improve security. The move forced insurgents to vacate the government buildings they had seized in the key Black Sea port. (AP Photo/Evgeniy Maloletka)



Employees of the Azovstal Iron and Steel Works hold a rally to protest against actions of armed separatists, in Mariupol, eastern Ukraine on May 20, 2014. Factories sounded their sirens in two cities of eastern Ukraine on Tuesday and steel workers held a peace rally in support of a call by Ukraine's richest man, Rinat Akhmetov, for protests against armed separatists who plan to disrupt a May 25 presidential election. (REUTERS/Maxim Zmeyev)





Pro-Russian group Vostok Battalion seized control of the headquarters of Donetsk People's Republic, another pro-Russian entity, in Donetsk, Ukraine on May 29, 2014. (Image: Evgeny Feldman, Mashable)



Smoke billows from Donetsk international airport during heavy fighting between Ukrainian and pro-Russian forces May 26, 2014. Three Ukrainian helicopter gunships mounted a heavy attack on the rebel-held international airport terminal at Donetsk on Monday, firing rockets and cannon and throwing out decoy flares as militants shot at them from the ground. (REUTERS/Yannis Behrakis)



Left to right: Andriy Shevchenko, Petro Poroshenko, Leader of the Ukrainian Democratic Alliance for Reform party (UDAR) Vitaly Klitschko, Prime Minister of Great Britain David Cameron, and British Foreign Secretary William Hague meet at 10 Downing Street in London, England on March 26, 2014. Cameron and Klitschko held a meeting at 10 Downing Street to discuss the latest developments in the Ukraine and Crimea ahead of the presidential elections which was held on May 25, 2014. (Photo: Pool/Getty Images Europe)



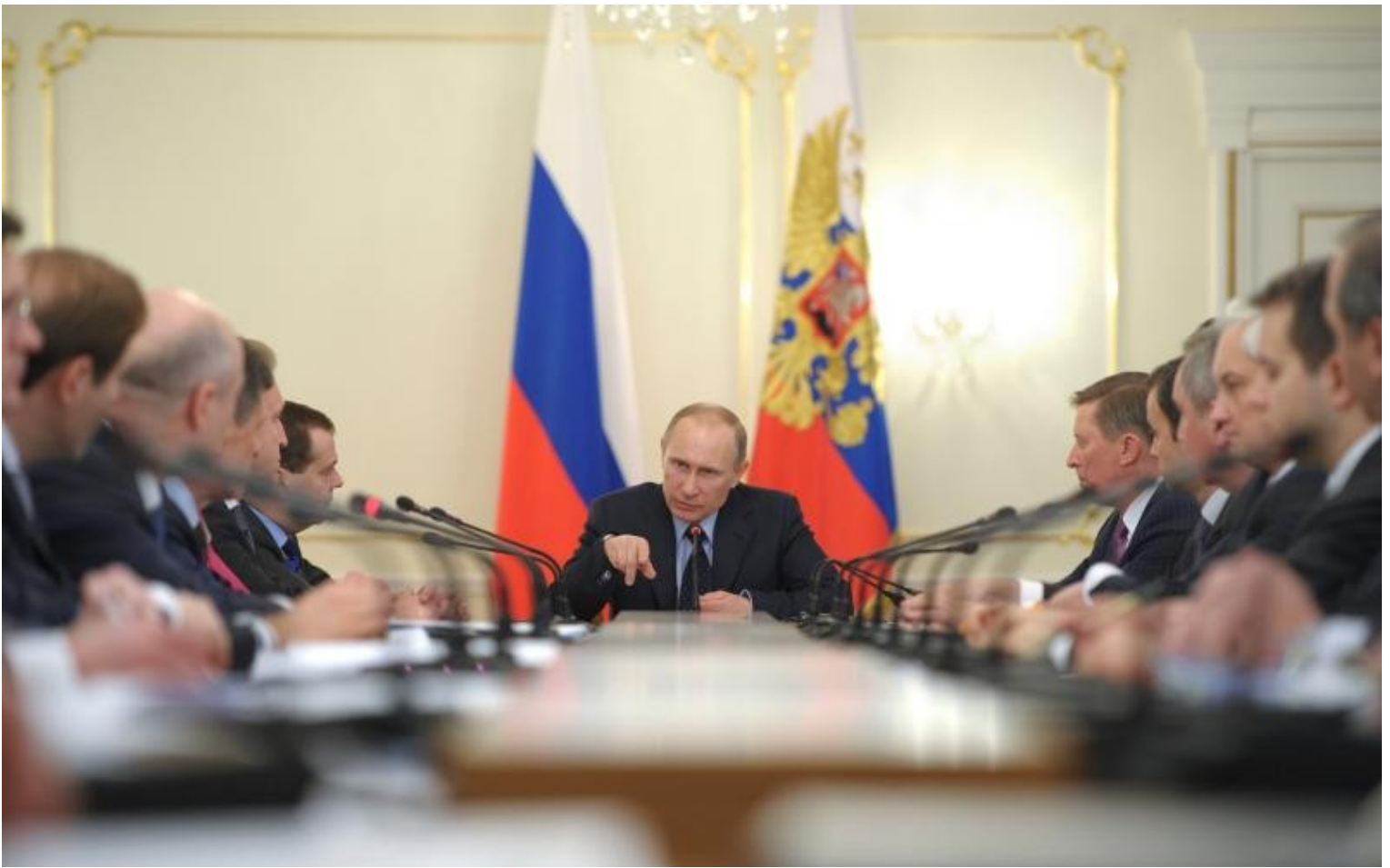
Ukrainian president-elect Petro Poroshenko pauses, during a press conference, in Kyiv, Ukraine on Monday, May 26, 2014. **Petro Poroshenko served as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine from October 9, 2009 until March 11, 2010. Petro Poroshenko served as Minister of Trade of Ukraine from March 23, 2012 until December 24, 2012. Petro Poroshenko was formally inaugurated as President of Ukraine on June 7, 2014.** (Efrem Lukatsky AP)



President-elect of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko (2nd left) meets with Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel (left) and President of Russia Vladimir Putin after a group photo during the 70th anniversary of the D-Day landings in Benouville, France on June 6, 2014.



President-elect of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko (left) and U.S. President Barack Obama shake hands during a meeting in Warsaw, Poland on June 4, 2014. (EPA/Jacek Turcyszk)



President of Russia Vladimir Putin discusses “business” at his residence in March 2014. (RIA Novosti/Courtesy Reuters)

What the Kremlin Is Thinking

Putin’s Vision for Eurasia

By Alexander Lukin

From the July/August 2014 Issue of *Foreign Affairs*

Soon after the Soviet Union’s collapse in 1991, Western leaders began to think of Russia as a partner. Although Washington and its friends in Europe never considered Moscow a true ally, they assumed that Russia shared their basic domestic and foreign policy goals and would gradually come to embrace Western-style democracy at home and liberal norms abroad. That road would be bumpy, of course. But Washington and Brussels attributed Moscow’s distinctive politics to Russia’s national peculiarities and lack of experience with democracy. And they blamed the disagreements that arose over the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, and Iran on the short time Russia had spent under Western influence. This line of reasoning characterized what could be termed the West’s post-Soviet consensus view of Russia.

The ongoing crisis in Ukraine has finally put an end to this fantasy. In annexing Crimea, Moscow decisively rejected the West’s rules and in the process shattered many flawed Western assumptions about its motivations. Now U.S. and European officials need a new paradigm for how to think about Russian foreign policy -- and if they want to resolve the Ukraine crisis and prevent similar ones from occurring in the future, they need to get better at putting themselves in Moscow’s shoes.

BACK TO THE BEGINNING

From Russia’s perspective, the seeds of the Ukraine crisis were planted in the Cold War’s immediate aftermath. After the Soviet Union collapsed, the West essentially had two options: either make a serious attempt to assimilate Russia into the Western system or wrest away piece after piece of its former sphere of influence. Advocates of the first approach, including the U.S. diplomat George Kennan and Russian liberals, warned that an anti-Russian course would only provoke hostility from Moscow while accomplishing little, winning over a few small states that would end up siding with the West anyway.

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Source: [Foreign Affairs](#)